CMP-SPRCM-75-33

SELECTIONS FROM PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA MAGAZINES

U.S

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL
HONG KONG, B.C.C.

NOVEMBER 17, 1975

U. I. C. C.
DEC 30 1975
LIBRARY

DISTRIBUTED BY:

NTIS
National Technical Information Service
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

KEEP UP TO DATE

Between the time you ordered this report—which is only one of the hundreds of thousands in the NTIS information collection available to you—and the time you are reading this message, several *new* reports relevant to your interests probably have entered the collection.

Subscribe to the **Weekly Government Abstracts** series that will bring you summaries of new reports *as soon as they are received by NTIS* from the originators of the research. The WGA's are an NTIS weekly newsletter service covering the most recent research findings in 25 areas of industrial, technological, and sociological interest—invaluable information for executives and professionals who must keep up to date.

The executive and professional information service provided by NTIS in the **Weekly Government Abstracts** newsletters will give you thorough and comprehensive coverage of government-conducted or sponsored research activities. And you'll get this important information within two weeks of the time it's released by originating agencies.

WGA newsletters are computer produced and electronically photocomposed to slash the time gap between the release of a report and its availability. You can learn about technical innovations immediately—and use them in the most meaningful and productive ways possible for your organization. Please request NTIS-PR-205/PCW for more information.

The weekly newsletter series will keep you current. But *learn what you have missed in the past* by ordering a computer **NTISearch** of all the research reports in your area of interest, dating as far back as 1964, if you wish. Please request NTIS-PR-186/PCN for more information.

WRITE: Managing Editor
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, VA 22161

Keep Up To Date With SRIM

SRIM (Selected Research in Microfiche) provides you with regular, automatic distribution of the complete texts of NTIS research reports *only* in the subject areas you select. SRIM covers almost all Government research reports by subject area and/or the originating Federal or local government agency. You may subscribe by any category or subcategory of our WGA **(Weekly Government Abstracts)** or **Government Reports Announcements and Index** categories, or to the reports issued by a particular agency such as the Department of Defense, Federal Energy Administration, or Environmental Protection Agency. Other options that will give you greater selectivity are available on request.

The cost of SRIM service is only 45¢ domestic (60¢ foreign) for each complete microfiched report. Your SRIM service begins as soon as your order is received and processed and you will receive biweekly shipments thereafter. If you wish, your service will be backdated to furnish you microfiche of reports issued earlier.

Because of contractual arrangements with several Special Technology Groups, not all NTIS reports are distributed in the SRIM program. You will receive a notice in your microfiche shipments identifying the exceptionally priced reports not available through SRIM.

A deposit account with NTIS is required before this service can be initiated. If you have specific questions concerning this service, please call (703) 451-1558, or write NTIS, attention SRIM Product Manager.

This information product distributed by

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
National Technical Information Service
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, Virginia 22161

CMP-SPRCM-75-33

Selections from People's Republic of China Magazines

American Consulate General
Hong Kong

No. 846
November 17, 1975

This edition is printed in the United States of America for dissemination in the Western Hemisphere, Europe, the Mediterranean, and the west coast of Africa from material produced by the American Consulate General, Hong Kong. All queries concerning this edition should be sent to:

National Technical Information
Service (152.12)
U.S. Department of Commerce
Springfield, Virginia 22151

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/)

Do a Good Job of Farm Mechanization with the Tachai Spirit - by Chiao Yüan 1

How They Strengthen the Brigade-Level Collective Economy 6

Commune- and Brigade-Run Industries Must Carry Out the Policy of Taking Agriculture as the Foundation 12

Read a Newly Discovered Article Written by Lu Hsün - by Yü Ch'iu-yü 15

Reproduced by
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
US Department of Commerce
Springfield, VA. 22151

PRICES SUBJECT TO CHANGE

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/)

Develop the Economy, Consolidate Political Power 29

The Exploration of Petroleum and Natural Gas and the Confucian-Legalist Struggle in Ancient China 34

The Touchstone for True and False Marxism 43

TABLE OF CONTENTS: Study and Criticism, No. 9 September 9, 1975 61

Study and Criticism, No. 8 August 18, 1975 63

* * *

Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in People's Republic of China periodicals.

Do a Good Job of Farm Mechanization with the Tachai Spirit

by

Chiao Yüan (焦沅)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No.10, October 14, 1975)

Chairman Mao points out: The basic way out for agriculture lies in mechanization. This instruction shows the direction in which efforts should be made to do a good job of farm mechanization and achieve farm mechanization on the basis of farm collectivization in our countryside. It also embodies a common aspiration of the hundreds of millions of poor and lower-middle peasants in our country.

Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, farm mechanization in Shanghai suburbs hasbeen gradually accelerated in keeping with the deepening mass movement to "learn from Tachai in agriculture." Of the more than 5 million mow of cultivated land belonging to the state and collective farms throughout the suburb, 88 percent has now attained electrification of irrigation and drainage and mechanization of plowing, with mechanization or semi-mechanization achieved in plant protection, threshing, and processing of farm and subsidiary products. The problems of "four back-bending" jobs in the paddy fields (thinning out, transplanting, weeding and cultivation and harvesting) are also being positively solved. Although farm mechanization in Shanghai suburbs is still at a preliminary stage at present, it is nevertheless playing a vital role in raising farm productivity, promoting the general development of the rural economy, and consolidating and developing the collective economy of people's communes, just as it is demonstrating its huge power in gradually reducing the three major differences, restricting bourgeois rights, transforming the old traditions and old habits of small production, consolidating the rural socialist position and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Reviewing the course of farm mechanization in Shanghai suburbs has made us deeply aware that, to make a success of farm mechanization, it is imperative to adhere to the Party's basic line, display the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and arduous struggle, and unfold large-scale mass movements.

Although Shanghai is a big industrial city, the practice of socialist construction tells us that it is beyond the ability of large factories in the urban area to produce all farm machines required or to repair them when they break down. In the past, under the pernicious influence of the revisionist line, a view prevailed that "in a large city with a small suburb, the suburb can have everything if only industry works harder." The idea of relying on and waiting for help meant that the spirit of self-reliance was weakened, gravely hindering the development of farm mechanization. Since the start of the great cultural revolution, the poor and lower-middle peasants and other commune members

in the suburb have deeply criticized the fallacy spread by Liu Shao-ch'i and his gang, that "the state allocates money, peasants till the land." This has greatly aroused their socialist initiative in developing farm mechanization self-reliantly, resulting in greater progress made and greater potential tapped.

Farm mechanization calls for machinery, funds and a technical force. How can these problems be solved? Should we "open our mouths and stretch out our hands and ask for help" or rely on our own efforts and wage arduous struggle? This is the divergence between the two roads and two lines on the question of farm mechanization. It is our fundamental policy to mobilize the masses to exert themselves in solving these financial and technical problems.

Positively developing the commune- and brigade-run industry and establishing and improving the farm machinery manufacturing networks at the county, commune and brigade levels -- this is an important basis for farm mechanization. As early as 1970, industrial departments in the urban area mobilized the factories to draw up their inventories and tap their potential to provide the 198 communes in the suburb each with two lathes, a planer, a drill, and an electrical welding machine, and to provide the more than 2,800 brigades each with a grinder, a work bench, and a hand drill. Communes and brigades were urged to raise the necessary funds to purchase them. Farm machinery manufacturing networks at the county, commune and brigade levels were set up. This not only basically solved the problems of the rural areas in the past--"when we have no machines, we dream of them; when we have farm machines, we are worried about their repair,"--but also made it possible to produce farm machines and tools with local practical needs in mind and in a flexible way. Today, with the exception of a few varieties such as tractors and power-operated sprayers, Shanghai suburbs can basically make all the farm machines it needs. As for those farm machines with a higher technological standard, essential parts are produced in centralized locations with the cooperation of the entire suburb and under the guidance of the related factories in the city. These machines are assembled separately in counties and communes, and progress in their production has been relatively fast. Simultaneously with properly running the farm machine manufacturing networks at the three levels, we also, acting on the principle of taking local conditions into account and making use of locally available materials, guide the communes and brigades to develop a number of factories (workshops) to meet the needs of producing farm and subsidiary products and serve the people's livelihood, big industries and export. This has not only helped supply the needs of rural production and livelihood but also assisted the development of large industries and production of export items, besides accumulating funds for the communes and brigades. Some 36 percent of the general revenues of the rural people's communes in 1974 was provided by the commune- and brigade-run industry. Today, funds needed for the purchase of farm machinery in the suburb are basically drawn from the collective reserves of the communes and brigades. The commune members say happily: "With communes and brigades running factories, wings have been added to farm mechanization."

Vigorously developing the mass movement for scientific research in farm machinery is an important way to raise the level of farm mechanization. Vast enthusiasm for farm mechanization is latent among the poor and lower-middle peasants in the countryside, and as they have rich experience in farm production, they have a right to speak on the reform of farm machines and tools. For this reason, continuing to raise the level of farm mechanization hinges on relying on the masses, concentrating their wisdom and making strenuous efforts to develop the mass movement for scientific research in farm machinery. In farm mechanization, Shanghai suburbs set a clear goal of main attack for a certain period and hands it over to the masses for discussion and implementation. This insures constant and sustained development of the mass movement for scientific research in farm machinery and tools. Take Shanghai County for example. It has formed a scientific research contingent for farm machinery at the county, commune and brigade levels. The membership of this contingent has developed to the present 921 from ten in 1965, with 55 coming from the county, 152 from the communes and 714 from brigades. The number of farm machinery research projects has also increased to more than 30 major projects covering 74 varieties from minor improvement and innovation. Among these in quantity production are eight varieties including small-chassis windrow-mowers, small-chassis wheat cutters, power-operated mud pumps, chain-type furrowers, black-light insect killers, chain-type threshers, power-operated mud-sucking boats, and small machines transplanting seedlings with soil. Other research projects are mostly proposed and undertaken by the masses with the assistance of professional personnel. With the masses mobilized, many problems which remained unsolved in the past can now be solved. In the past, specialized units studied the problems relating to the production of power-operated seedling transplanters for more than ten years but still failed to solve them, but once the masses were mobilized they were able to produce successively a variety of such machines. As for machines used for weeding and cultivation, some scientific and technical workers previously held that the problems were beyond solution as "the distance between two rice rows is only a little over three inches and no machines can get in them." But when the masses were aroused, they began to make a breakthrough in less than a year.

To organize -- on the basis of creations and inventions by the masses -- the forces of scientific research, manufacturing and user departments and the forces of workers, cadres and scientific researchers to jointly tackle the principal projects of farm machinery is an important measure for quickening the pace of scientific research in farm machinery. The chief task of such joint efforts to solve key problems is, first, to test and compare machines of similar types made by the masses, develop their good points and overcome their shortcomings, carry out comprehensive design, and decide on the models to be produced. Second, defects of farm machines exposed while they are in use are studied and the machines improved and gradually perfected. Judging by the practice of recent years, making such joint efforts is not only an effective method for consolidating and developing the fruits of the mass movement for scientific research in farm machinery but also a good form for having industry support agriculture and promoting the worker-peasant cooperation in bringing about mechanization.

Following the development of farm mechanization, how to give full play to the role of farm machinery and guarantee increased farm production is another important problem to which close attention must be paid. In this respect, the Shanghai suburbs have taken the following two major steps: First, to step up the training of people who operate and maintain farm machines so that farm machines can be put to better use. In recent years, a total of 200,000 people operating and maintaining farm machines have been trained through the three-level farm machinery manufacturing networks. Apart from regularly holding various kinds of short-term training classes, the principal methods of training are: During slack farm season, farm machinery operators are transferred to county- and commune-run factories to take part in assembly and repair of farm machines, to study and improve their skills; during busy farm season, workers and technicians of county- and commune-run factories are sent to production teams to take part in labor and to impart their skills, so that a large group of farm machinery technicians can grow up in the course of combat and gradually raise their level. Second, in light of the characteristics of machinery operation, appropriate cultivation and management measures continue to be summed up and popularized. For instance, using machines to transplant seedlings raises different demands on seedling culture, land levelling and management than those of manual operation. The seedlings must be strong with short roots and suitable height; the land must be level and must not be too soft; management must be undertaken early and replacing of seedlings must be done promptly. Only thus is it possible to give full scope to the role of machinery and increase yields.

Over all these years farm mechanization in the Shanghai suburbs have developed with definite results in the midst of the fierce struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. It has played its due role in the development of farm production. The Shanghai suburbs have 3.3 million mow of grain fields. In 1965, fields which yielded three crops a year covered a little more than 50,000 mow; last year, apart from 240,000 mow in which one wheat crop and one rice crop were reaped and 310,000 mow in which green manure and double-crop rice were reaped, the remaining acreage basically yielded three crops of grain. In 1974 the per-mow output of grain was over 1,400 catties, with one commune, 74 brigades and 811 production teams shooting through the 2,000-catty mark. The reason why it was possible to do this, as the masses explained, was that "the Tachai spirit has blossomed and farm mechanization is instrumental." However, in comparison with Tachai and Hsiyang, Shanghai suburbs still lags far behind, still has considerable potential in farm production, must continue the revolution in farm mechanization, and still has lots of work to do and do them well.

In the first place, farm machinery must be continuously improved in the wake of the development of farm techniques. We are happy to see that inspired by the Tachai spirit, the broad masses of commune members in the suburb are displaying increasing enthusiasm for developing agriculture in a big and speedy way. Farm production in the suburbs is developing and changing from variety to farm technology, so the demands for farm machinery also develop and change to meet the needs of the new situation.

In the second place, farm machinery must gradually develop in the direction in which one machine is put to multiple uses. Following the development of the collective economy, farm machines in Shanghai suburbs have increased. A brigade has dozens of types of farm machines, big and small, so the question of putting a machine to multiple uses has been brought to the fore. Putting a machine to multiple uses can economize on rolled steel, funds and warehousing, reduce the number of full-time operators, and facilitate use, management and repair. In the third place, it is also necessary to pay attention to lowering the cost, raising the level of the farm technical contingent, and strengthening farm machinery management. To further solve these problems demands that we do not relax our effort and do not cease carrying on the revolution on the road toward farm mechanization.

Recently, we have studied the great leader Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theory and conducted a number of investigations into rural conditions. We have further realized that the dictatorship of the proletariat still faces a long and formidable task in regard to the transformation of small production and even more profoundly recognized that to speed up the pace of farm mechanization by taking the Party's basic line as the key link is a major political task. We have raised our initiative to do a better job of farm mechanization. We are resolved to strive to implement the spirit of the National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture, do the various kinds of work in the countryside well with the Tachai spirit, exert energetic efforts to promote the development of agriculture, and make our contributions to the fulfillment of our grand goal of socialist construction ahead of schedule.

(The author is a staff member of the Suburban Group of Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee)

* * *

How They Strengthen the Brigade-Level Collective Economy

- Investigation report on Hsiangyang Brigade, Fangt'ai Commune, Chiating County

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No.10, October 14, 1975)

Hsiangyang brigade of Fangt'ai commune, Chiating county used to have rather poor production conditions and very low grain yields. With the development of the movement to "learn from Tachai in agriculture," particularly since 1971, they have actively developed the brigade-level collective economy, intensifying the role and influence of the brigade in agricultural production. This has brought about remarkable improvement in the brigade's farming conditions, and grain yield has increased for years running. The economic development of the brigade has caused the collective economy to grow continuously. In 1974 the brigade-level income increased 14 times compared with 1970, to exceed 393,000 yuan, while the team-level income rose 15 percent, amounting to more than 351,000 yuan. In the same period, the proportion of brigade-level income and fixed assets at the brigade and team levels rose from 6 percent to 43 percent and from 20 percent to 53 percent respectively. Overjoyed, the commune members said: "The brigade economy is excellent. It is leading all the teams to change their features. Production conditions have improved enormously, providing a basis for years of bumper harvests." The annual grain per-mow yield in 1973 rose by 21.1 percent over 1972. Even in 1974, when a hailstorm and pests struck, the per-mow grain yield rose by 11 catties over 1973, reaching 1,499 catties. This year the output of summer-ripened and early rice increased by more than 170,000 catties over last year.

To boost the proportion of the brigade-level collective economy is an objective demand for the rapid development of socialist revolution and construction. Especially since the great proletarian cultural revolution, many new problems have appeared with the substantial development of production. First, farmland water conservation does not meet the needs. Many waterways are shallow and devious. The construction of water works often involves several production teams. "If you can't pass through one yard, you can't pass through ten thousand yards." It is impossible to rely on one team only. Second, to develop farm mechanization, roads and bridges have to be built, and these are beyond one team alone. Third, more farm machines increase the need for repair and maintenance. Yet the material and technical conditions of production teams are poor. As the poor and lower-middle peasants say: "Land is of different heights and sizes, but irrigation facilities do not take this into account. There are no roads and bridges for farm machines, and the waterways are too shallow for tug-boats. When the two-crop system is changed into the three-crop system, labor power is strained and fertilizer is in short supply. 'Three back-bending' jobs have to be done in the paddy fields, and output is hard to increase."

All this shows that to further develop production, the brigade's collective economy must be developed, and greater scope must be given to it in farm production. Moreover, from the long-range point of view, in carrying out the system of "three-level ownership with the team as the basis" at the present stage of the rural people's commune, it is invariably essential to gradually effect the transition from small to big collective and then to ownership of the whole people. To develop the brigade's collective economy is an important measure for creating conditions for such gradual transition.

At the outset, some comrades thought that since it was the production teams that had both land and manpower, the brigade was just an "empty shell" and could do nothing at all. Some didn't think it was necessary for the brigade to run enterprises as this would affect agricultural production. Later, the Party branch organized the cadres and commune members to study Chairman Mao's relevant thesis and the "60 Points," guiding everyone to recall the post-liberation history from the land reform, mutual-aid teams, primary and higher cooperatives to the people's communes. They were able to realize that while the development of the production forces demanded a change in production relations, each change in the latter invariably pushed the development of the productive forces to a great extent. Thus, to further develop production at present, we must constantly adjust and improve the production relations. Provided that we do not practice "I-p'ing, Erh-tiao" /equal distribution and transfer without compensation/" and do nothing to weaken agricultural production or the team-level collective economy, the brigade-level collective economy can and should be developed. Moreover, only when the brigade-level economy has been developed will it be possible to undertake difficult tasks beyond production teams. This, in turn, will enhance the development of the team economy and help expand the collective economy of the people's commune as a whole.

After consciousness was raised, it was unanimously resolved to actively develop the brigade economy through self-reliance and in view of local conditions. They organized the "five kinds of artisans" in the rural areas, and set up a tailoring and a carpenters group for the brigade. In accordance with the needs of big industries in the city, they built a spring processing plant by indigenous methods. By 1974, the brigade's industry developed in seven fields: pig breeding, food processing, haircut service, tailoring, bamboo and wooden craft, spring processing and farm machine repair. It accumulated over 131,000 yuan that year. In order not to affect agricultural production, the labor force involved in brigade industry has been restricted to about 140 persons, 13 percent of the total labor force. Moreover, they persist in working on the bench and on the farm, as during busy farming seasons they all go back to the farm. They spend at least 40 days or more in the fields each year. It is also ruled that both their pay and working hours should be about the same as those of commune members who work in agriculture. With the exception of furnace tenders, no labor safety devices will be issued. There will be no welfare measures or subsidies which would widen the gap between them and commune members tilling the land.

Following the development of the brigade-level collective economy, reserves have grown and material conditions improved. How, then, should we help production teams to develop production? Once, some proposed to give each team several thousand yuan to be distributed to commune members. Others suggested helping poor teams pay off their debts. But, doing this could not basically change the agricultural production conditions, and was against the long-term interests of poor and lower-middle peasants. The brigade Party branch decided, considering the needs of production development, to use the accumulated funds to do those things beyond production teams. For the past three years they used nearly 80 percent of the brigade's reserves to support agricultural production, investing over 258,000 yuan in farmland capital construction and farm machinery. The following eight principal tasks have been undertaken:

1. Building garden plots. Over the past three years the brigade mapped out a unified plan, raised funds and organized manpower to build garden fields suitable for crop rotation between paddy and dry crops and capable of producing a crop even in times of drought or flood. These fields now occupy one-third of the brigade's 3,068 mow of cultivated land. Construction works included 33 large open ditches, 2,000 meters of underground channels, four tractor roads with a total length of over 1,100 meters, three bridges, and the levelling of over 300 mow of rugged land. At the same time, more than 100 mow of fields with flowers planted were adjusted. In one-third of the cultivated land, "small culverts lead to open ditches, and open ditches lead to rivers. Farm machines run on the ground, and water flows beneath it. Gardening is a reality."

2. Building a manure transportation team. In the past the teams used farm boats to transport city garbage and nightsoil. Every time they had to send out able-bodied men to work for 5-6 days, but could only get 8-9 tons. And operations had to be suspended during busy farm seasons when manpower was strained. Now, the brigade has a specialized manure transportation team with three tug-boats and 80 tons of barges. This cuts down the time of transportation, reduces more than 50 percent the transportation cost and manpower for every ton of manure. Moreover, farm work is not affected and the production teams may also use their farm boats and men to dig up mud and cut grass in nearby places. Thus, the amount of manure applied to each mow of farmland rose by 30-40 tan.

3. Building some water conservation projects. Under a unified plan of the brigade and with funds allocated by it, in three winters and springs some 1,450 meters of canals were dug, involving 41,000 cubic meters of earthwork. Particularly in 1972, after the "Shech'ang Stream" was transformed into "Hsiangyang River," four production teams succeeded in improving the irrigation conditions of over 300 mow of farmland. The following year, the per-mow yield of early rice jumped from 300-400 catties to well over 800 catties.

4. Setting up a seed bank. The brigade invested in building a seed bank covering over 200 square meters. There is a cement-paved

sunning ground covering over 300 square meters. Three old peasants are assigned to look after the grain seeds of the brigade, and a specialized seed culture group is set up. At harvest time, this group goes to various production teams to help with seed selection. Seed plots are run, with all seeds going to the brigade's seed bank. Different strains are kept separately, labelled, and sunned periodically. Before sowing, the seed bank treats the seeds with drugs and carries out germination tests. In this way, not only has the germination rate of seeds reached 95 percent, but an impetus has been given to fine seed culture, resulting in constant strain purification and development.

5. Organizing a plant protection team. Since early 1972, the brigade successively purchased eleven power-driven sprayers and assigned one person to look after each of them. It formed a plant protection team. Plant protection personnel make exclusive use of these machines and can operate and repair them. Normally, while working with the production teams in the fields, they carry out observation of diseased plants and pest conditions and take prompt precautionary and control measures. Moreover, the fact that the sprayers are managed and allocated by the brigade centrally makes it easier to concentrate forces for a battle of annihilation. In 1973, when early rice borers suddenly erupted in Ch'ingshihch'iao production team, the brigade immediately despatched four sprayers, and after a three-hour battle on over 60 mow of early rice, the pests were wiped out.

6. Setting up a farm machinery repair and assembly station. Farm machines bought and managed by the brigade over the past few years include two medium tractors, eleven transplanters, five winnowers, five cultivators and five harvesters. These machines are put under the unified control of the brigade farm machinery station, which also helps the production teams repair machines and train mechanics. Today, minor repairs are done by the teams while intermediary repairs and maintenance are taken care of by the brigade. Moreover, during the past two years they also put up 18 new farm machinery maintenance depots to help production teams service walking tractors and other major farm machines. The teams get them back when they need them for use. This changed the past practice of "using but not keeping machines in proper conditions." It not only increased the efficiency of use, but also reduced the repair cost by over one-third.

7. Erecting a number of pigsties. Formerly, this brigade did not raise many pigs. Since 1973 the brigade subsidized its production teams in building 54 new pigsties. When they were built, according to a unified plan mapped out by the brigade, several pigsties were linked together to facilitate experience exchange and mutual promotion. In 1974 the brigade achieved one pig for each mow of land.

8. Expanding a health clinic. Today, the brigade has not only built a new clinic for the medical cooperative service, set up a ward with five beds and added more testing equipment and medical supplies. Moreover, the brigade clinic cooperates with the health workers of production teams in actively fighting against diseases, to the delight of the commune members.

Hsiangyang brigade, by doing the above eight things in light of needs and possibilities, has not only expanded the brigade-level collective economy, but also rendered greater support to the development of the collective economy of production teams, particularly the poor ones. By setting up plant protection and seed culture specialized groups and coordinating with the concerned specialized personnel of production teams, the brigade has succeeded in exercising more concrete and effective leadership over the production teams, while also helping commune members further enhance their collective concept. All this has contributed toward the step-by-step creation of essential ideological and material conditions for the gradual transition from the team-based collective economy to a higher stage.

In the past, there used to be great gaps between the advanced and backward teams in this brigade. Take 1971 for example. The difference between the highest and lowest annual grain yields per mow was 386 catties and that between the highest and lowest income of commune members from the collective distribution was 47 yuan. Following Chairman Mao's instruction -- "make all people in all rural areas grow prosperous together," the brigade Party branch seriously helped backward teams change their features and gradually catch up with the advanced. First, they helped these teams adjust their line, criticize capitalist tendencies and persist in taking the socialist road. Once, for example, the evil winds of capitalism prevailed in Ch'ingshihch'iac production team, when a lot of people showed a keen interest in private plots and family sidelines. As a result, collective production dropped. It was quite a well known backward team. Later, the brigade Party branch conducted education in the Party's basic line in the team, arousing its members to wage a two-road and two-line struggle and helping them adjust the leading group. From then on, the socialist enthusiasm of the commune masses soared. The 1974 grain output increased more than 30,000 catties over 1973, and this year's summer crop yielded 8,000 catties more. It began to join the ranks of the advanced.

To help backward teams with really poor production conditions, the brigade Party branch, on the one hand, educated them to assert their revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, and, on the other, gave them the necessary material assistance. For instance, Machia production team had a lot of hilly land with lean soil and production suffered. While giving it a subsidy of 1,600 yuan to help it build pigsties, raise more pigs, and store up more manure, the brigade also helped it mobilize the masses to draw up a plan to transform the hilly land. Last year, when the "3-autumn" work was over, effort was made to level 50 mow of land. As a result, 300 mow of cultivated land in the team was basically transformed into garden fields suitable for crop rotation between paddy and dry crops and capable of producing even in times of drought or flood. This year's summer crop yielded over 10,000 catties more than that of last year. A new phase began. The poor and lower-middle peasants said happily: "Once the big collective has strength, the production team can catch up faster." "Now individuals cannot leave the collective any more than the small collective can leave the big collective."

As some production teams benefited little and even suffered temporary losses from farmland capital construction carried out under the unified plan of the brigade, there was rather serious ideological resistance to it. The brigade Party branch realized that in order to correctly handle the mutual relations among the production teams, besides earnestly carrying out the various rural policies at the present stage, it was even more important to arm the masses with the theory of proletarian dictatorship, and, as Tachai brigade has done, constantly transform the small-peasant ideology by educating the peasants on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought and fostering the communist style of loving the country and the collective. In February this year, the brigade planned to transform the winding and narrow Yaochia River. When this project was completed, three production teams would be benefited. However, the new waterway had to pass through the land of Lungli production team, which would receive less benefit and 16 mow of its cultivated land would be affected. To persuade the cadres and commune members of this team to consciously support this project, the brigade Party branch went to them and organized them to study the theory of proletarian dictatorship and talk about the brigade's long-range prospects and the socialist, collectivist ideas. This helped everyone recognize that only when the production conditions in the brigade and even beyond were basically improved, was it possible to reduce the gap between rich and poor, and for all to take the road to common prosperity. When commune members raised their socialist consciousness and fully displayed the communist style, they actively plunged into the river-digging battle. Meanwhile, in accordance with the spirit of mutual help and mutual benefit, the brigade compensated this team for its losses resulting from this river project, giving it proprity supply of fertilizer and helping them quickly level the ground and improve the soil.

Now, Hsiangyang brigade Party branch is checking up and summing up work on the basis of studying the theory of proletarian dictatorship at the preceding stage. They are resolved to take the theoretical study as the key link, persist in continuing the revolution under proletarian dictatorship, earnestly study Tachai's basic experience, and run the brigade-level collective economy still better so as to further consolidate and develop the collective economy of the people's commune.

Investigation Team of CCP Chiating County Committee

* * *

Commune- and Brigade-Run Industries Must Carry Out the Policy of Taking Agriculture As the Foundation

by

Party Branch of T'ingtzu Brigade

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 10, October 14, 1975)

Should brigade-run industries be oriented toward the city or the countryside? From the day our brigade set up an industrial plant, a struggle between the two roads and two lines on this question has existed.

One day in 1970, several commune members of our brigade said anxiously to the secretary of the brigade Party branch: "Now all the fraternal brigades are running factories. Our brigade is so poor. Why don't we try to find some ways to make some money?" Our brigade was then indeed one of the relatively poor brigades in Tuhsing commune, Shanghai county. To fight a good battle in agriculture, we were studying some measures, an important one of which was to develop brigade-run enterprises. But what these commune members said made our Party branch ponder: "To find some ways to make money -- is this the aim of running an enterprise?" After repeated discussion, we realized that while brigade-run enterprises should be developed, the aim of doing so must be made clear. So, we organized all commune members to study Chairman Mao's brilliant "May 7 Directive" and set a clear goal: The people's commune must take agriculture as the principal occupation, but if conditions permit, it may run some small factories; brigade-run enterprises must at all times keep to the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation, persist in having industry support agriculture, and must not stress industry at the expense of agriculture.

It is under the guidance of this idea that our brigade-run enterprises have developed relatively fast over the past several years. In 1970, the brigade had only a farm and subsidiary product processing group, a tailoring group and a stock-breeding farm. Now it has a farm machine repair and assembly group (including repair of bambooware, woodware and galvanized ironware), a metal finishing factory and a house building group. The number of workers in brigade-run enterprises rose from 15 in 1970 to the present 98, accounting for 14.7 percent of the brigade's total labor force. Reserve funds provided by the enterprises stood at 1,058 yuan in 1970 and 101,000 yuan in 1974, an increase of nearly a hundred times. At the same time, agricultural production also registered marked progress, with output climbing from year to year. In 1974, annual output of grain per mow reached 2,011 catties, that of cotton 145 catties, and that of rapeseed 350 catties. Pig-raising averaged 1.15 head for every mow of land. Both industrial and agricultural production leaped forward.

In the course of developing its industry, how does our brigade carry out the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation?

First, the arrangement of manpower insures that agriculture is taken as the foundation. The brigade Party branch always places the main emphasis

on agricultural production. Normally, one committee members takes charge of management of the enterprises and the other six give all their attention to agriculture. During busy farm seasons, the committee member who takes charge of enterprises assumes the responsibility of allocating farm machines and checks the results of plowing by machines, seeing to it that farm work is done smoothly.

To develop the brigade-run industry, manpower must be increased appropriately. Who should work in industry? Some once suggested that to run industry well, we must have adequate backbone forces and should place a few more Party members in it. Others said that brigade-run industry should give more consideration to the dependents of cadres, so that they may devote themselves to farm production with a composed mind. Following discussion and study, the brigade Party branch firmly rejected such suggestions. We held that, while it was necessary to have a backbone force for industry, it was even more necessary to insure a sufficient backbone force for agirculture. Therefore, we have always kept proper control over the assignment of manpower. Up to now, of the 35 Party members in the brigade, only five -- who are relatively old and physically weak -- have been assigned to the brigade-run industry. The remaining 30 have all been assigned to agriculture. Is it necessary to care for the dependents of cadres? We believe that since the power of cadres is given by poor and lower-middle peasants, they should under no circumstances have any privileges, let alone turn the enterprises into "factories of dependents." The dependents of cadres may work in the enterprises, but they must be treated on the same basis as commune members. They should be recommended by the poor and lower-middle peasants who consider their cases individually, and approved by the Party branch. They should not have any special treatment in any form. To prevent cadres from seeking privileges, the Party branch members set themselves as examples and first arranged for their dependents to work in agriculture. For instance, Chi Yung-fang, the Party branch secretary, Wang Hsin-li, the deputy secretary, and Li Kuo-cheng, the Party branch committee member who is supervising industry,each have three children, and all of them have some financial problems. Their dependents should reasonably be allowed to work in the factories. However, they all convinced their dependents not to do so. Up to now, none of them works in a brigade-run factory. In the brigade, one person from every two households of poor and lower-middle peasants works in industry, while the dependents of only eleven out of the 48 brigade cadres have been admitted into the factories on the recommendation of the poor and lower-middle peasants. This accounts for only a quarter of the cadres. The commune members say: "Our brigade cadres have taken a good lead!"

Second, the use of reserve funds must insure that agriculture is taken as the foundation. From 1970 to 1974, our brigade built up a reserve fund of 285,000 yuan. Even so, in developing industry, we have always insisted on using indigenous methods and whatever is available. No decision to purchase equipment is made lightly. For the last five years, out of 203,000 yuan spent, 145,000 yuan, or 72 percent, was used to develop agricultural production. With this money, we built 3.5 kilometers of underground channels, converted 2.5 kilometers of low-tension electric wiring, erected two tractor bridges, established 27 stock-breeding sheds, 5 chicken sheds, 5 fodder processing sheds and 4 sheds for repair and assembly and tractors. We also bought one medium-sized tractor, 9 small tractors, 7 rice transplanters,

2 harvesters, 11 power-driven sprayers, 10 mud pumps and 6 cone threshers. These farm machines have given a powerful boost to the development of agricultural production. The 3-crop system accounted for 60 percent of the cultivated acreage in 1970; by 1974, except for the seedling fields, the 3-crop system was practiced in all fields. The commune members said elatedly that without so many farm machines it would be impossible to achieve the 3-crop system in an all-round manner. Thanks to the 7 rice transplanters, the area of late rice seedlings transplanted by machine has reached 95 percent of the total acreage.

Third, service is oriented to taking agriculture as the foundation. Our brigade-run enterprises first undertook those projects serving agriculture, producing in quantity products in support of agriculture. Since the repair and assembly group was set up in 1970, the scope of repair and assembly has continued to be enlarged. Apart from farm machines, bamboo and wooden farm tools are also repaired, and the repair and assembly forces have been augmented, promoting the overhaul, maintenance, popularization and use of farm machines. We have striven to raise the level of farm machine repair. Now, intermediary repair of big tractors and major repair of small tractors can be basically handled on our own. In addition, we have also trained one farm machine mechanic for each production team. In the "three-summer" period this year, the cost of repairing large and small tractors was more than 50 percent lower than that of last year, and the efficiency was raised 26 percent. The brigade's building group, persisting in serving the commune members, began last year to build houses for commune members and accepted no gifts from them. During busy farm seasons, the farm and subsidiary produce processing plant delivers processed products to the homes of commune members....

Besides, in order to prevent workers of enterprises from having [illegible] special treatment, the brigade Party branch continuously steps up education in taking agriculture as the foundation. During busy farm seasons, workers of enterprises return to their production teams to labor and basically get the same pay as other commune members tilling the land. As our brigade follows the right direction in running industry and doggedly carries out the policy of taking agriculture as the foundation, its enterprises have become a powerful factor promoting the development of agricultural production and making important contributions to building a new socialist countryside.

* * *

Read a Newly Discovered Article Written by Lu Hsün

by

Yü Ch'iu-yü (余秋雨)

(Hsüeh-hsi yü P'i-p'an /Study and Criticism/, No. 8, August 18, 1975)

The comrades of the Chungshan University Library in Canton not long ago came upon a lost article written by Lu Hsün nearly 50 years before, entitled "The Side That Celebrates the Recovery of Shanghai and Nanking." The article was carried in a Canton newspaper published in 1927. After conducting preliminary collations, such as checking some of the facts mentioned in the article with Lu Hsün's earlier writings and the views expressed by him in Canton, and comparing carefully and exactly with Lu's unique style of writing and the theses he had consistently held and the allusions he often made in his later writings in comparing the rise and decline of Buddhism to the revolution, we believe that this article was beyond doubt written by Lu Hsün himself.

I

This article was written on April 10, 1927. This means that only scores of hours after it was written, Chiang Kai-shek began slaughtering the revolutionary people and the Chinese revolution entered a critical stage. However, despite the fact that the reactionaries had secretly and for the last time sharpened their butcher knives and polished their guns, they were still pretending to be "celebrating" the Northern Expedition's major victory -- the recovery of Shanghai and Nanking.* The revolution was then culminating in victory and on the eve of defeat.

At this key juncture, what did Lu Hsün think? In this article he used the theses of the great revolutionary teacher Lenin to clearly show the danger that might possibly confront the revolution and call on people to carry the revolution through to the end. He quoted Lenin as saying: "First, let's not be intoxicated with victory nor be arrogant; second, consolidate the victory that has been won; third, wipe out the enemy completely because he is only defeated but far from being completely annihilated."** The whole article is an elaboration of this passage.

---

* This refers to the occupation of Shanghai on February 21, 1927 by the CCP-led workers in Shanghai who staged the third armed uprising in conjunction with the Northern Expedition forces, and the latter's conquest of Nanking on March 24.

** See Stalin's article "On Lenin." The translation /into Chinese/ was based on that published by the People's Publishing House in September 1971.

The correctness of these theses was verified two days later by the gunfire by the side of the Huangp'u River. Lu Hsün later remarked with bitterness more than once, "What in fact I pointed out has now been confirmed by facts, although I said so only a few days earlier."* This foresight -- "only a few days earlier" -- is commendable in that it was based on an understanding of objective laws, which invariably embody universality. Like Lu Hsün's many other articles which did not just confine themselves to foretelling the development and trend of things, the article under discussion is of far-reaching significance that goes beyond its immediate applications.

The article in particular underlines the view that revolutionary dictatorship must be strengthened when the revolution is advancing victoriously.

In his time Lu Hsün encountered two major victorious periods of the revolution -- this one and the Revolution of 1911. Victory was particularly precious to him because he had battled in long years when the reactionary forces were rampant and seen a lot of hardships. This made him understand the "lasting effect of dictatorship and the difficulty of arousing action."** When the Revolution of 1911 was victorious, he appealed to the leaders of the revolution not to show mercy to the devils to avoid giving up the revolution half-way and "allowing the land to lapse into silence."** The revolution, however, eventually proceeded to the opposite of what he had expected, similar to what he grimly depicted in his works such as "The Story of Ah Q" and "On the Need To Postpone 'Fair Play'." Sixteeen years later he again heard the songs of victory and saw revolutionary slogans everywhere. He was of course quite excited. He wrote: "On the day I read cabled reports on the recovery of Shanghai and Nanking I twice privately expressed my feelings of jubilation." But historical experience and observation of the reality alerted him to the need to strengthen revolutionary dictatorship if the revolutionary people were to enjoy a prolonged period of jubilation.

Why? Because: first, "in the dark areas the work of the counter-revolutionaries is quietly in progress"; and second, in regions where the revolution has triumphed the "growth of the revolutionary forces would inevitably be followed by growing numbers of people with revolutionary aspirations. After the unification I am afraid the Research Group*** would

---

* "Foreword" to "False Declaration of Freedom."

** "Introducing 'Getting Free'," Articles Not Collected in the Collection.

*** This refers to a reactionary political group in support of the Northern Warlords.

also talk about revolution. Did the Modern Review* change its tune toward the end of last year? Comparing its views with those it expressed at the time of the 'March 18 Incident,' I really suspect they all obtained pills of immortality and underwent a complete transformation all of a sudden." In short, the revolution was victorious, but it was a victory that was encompassed by the fierce flames and toxic fumes of counter-revolution. The enemies were overtly attacking or covertly scheming. At that time the former enemies comprised the Northern Warlords while the latter were made up of the Kuomintang right-wingers and reactionary men of letters affiliated with them, such as those associated with the Modern Review. People of the latter category were by far more insidious. Since Lu Hsün mockingly derided their "pills of immortality" as fakes, "complete transformation" was nothing more than a pretentious stance taken by the reactionary opportunists. On the contrary, they wanted to "bore through from within" and caused the body of the revolution to undergo a "complete change." Lu Hsün cited Lenin's words to summarize the enemy's overt and covert activities in and outside the revolutionary areas, namely: "The enemy is only defeated but far from being completely annihilated."

The revolutionary's attitude toward the enemy is always based on the latter's nature and action. Lu Hsün's greatness likewise invariably manifested itself when he was besieged by all sorts of enemies. Since he coolly pursued and tracked down the enemy's every move, he put forward these counter-measures: "I wrote a short article the year before last suggesting that the 'dog in the water' should still be beaten. Then some honest people came forward and considered this as cruel, not generous nor tolerant." "I don't know what it is like in foreign countries but in China none of the victors was not cruel." "As a matter of fact, up to now those who applied such nice terms as generosity, tolerance, kindness and benevolence both in name and in practice generally failed, while those who employed these terms in name only succeeded. However, they after all duped a group of fools, who still believed in them."

This is indeed a very fine thesis on the necessity of revolutionary dictatorship. The opposite of this concept dictatorship -- "generosity, tolerance, kindness and benevolence" means renunciation of dictatorship. "In name only" is just one tactic used by reactionaries to exercise dictatorship, and their "practice" is always associated with "cruelty." Resorting to "in name only" is designed to benumb the people and to soften up "a group of fools" within the revolutionary ranks, particularly during the period of revolutionary victory. Here, Lu Hsün sensed with bitterness the possibility of the revolution ending in

---

* This weekly journal was published by reactionary comprador men of letters including Hu Shih, Ch'en Yüan and Wang Shih-chieh. It slandered the patriotic masses killed by Tuan Ch'i-jui as "rioters" during the "March 18 tragedy" in 1926. When it later saw the victorious advance of the Northern Expedition, it attempted to lean over to the revolution. It openly surrendered to the KMT reactionaries after Chiang Kai-shek launched the "April 12" counter-revolutionary coup.

failure because of the practice of "forbearance" and "kindness." Unfortunately, his prophecy became true. Didn't those Right opportunists during the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War mistake foe for friend and abet the cause of evil and leave the sweeping revolution in the lurch? A month before Lu Hsün wrote this article, to criticize Ch'en Tu-hsiu's Right opportunist line, our great leader Chairman Mao in his brilliant work "A Report of Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan" heaped great praises on the dictatorship of the revolutionary peasants, and refuted the Right opportunist elements for using Confucian and Mencian teachings of "moderation and humility" to erode and slander revolutionary dictatorship. Clearly, Lu Hsün's views basically were in accord with our Party's correct line for the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War. Lu Hsün at the time was naturally unable to fully understand the line struggle within our Party. However, since the line struggle is a reflection of class struggle within the Party, the historical experience summed up by him in the protracted practice of class struggle objectively also criticized all Right opportunist lines at that time and later, even including the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and other fallacies used by Lin Piao and his ilk more than 40 years later to attack the proletarian dictatorship.

Forces detrimental to the revolution during the period of victory also included a number of arrogant and self-complacent people within the revolutionary contingent. Therefore, when Lu Hsün was castigating the enemy and "a group of fools," he reminded and educated the vast numbers of revolutionaries with comradely exhortations. This is another important aspect of his article.

Lu Hsün incisively expounded Lenin's teaching "Don't be intoxicated with victory and don't be arrogant." He believed doing so would be harmful to the revolution in at least two aspects --

Giving the enemy a chance he could use: "To be intoxicated with the song of triumph when there is a small victory and to slacken and forget to attack gives the enemy a chance to arise again."

Disintegrating their own revolutionary spirit: "Joining in the celebrations and singing songs, many people were intoxicated with the revolution. It was fine indeed but this sometimes would corrupt the revolutionary spirit and make it flippant." "With so many people acting like this, the revolutionary spirit would subside and vanish, and the old order would return." To illustrate this truth, Lu Hsün cited the case of Buddhism which spread far and wide with more "faithfuls" and then finally decayed. He held that "this is also true with revolution."

It is not difficult to see that these passages glitter with the radiance of revolutionary dialectics. From being intoxicated with victory to losing it, from praising the revolution to wrecking it, and from the superficial expansion of the revolutionary contingent to the weakening of the revolutionary spirit, Lu Hsün was indeed severe in revealing the relationship of mutual transformation! Victory is a fine thing but if one is so intoxicated with it as to abandon revolutionary principles and

dissipate the revolutionary spirit, then conditions will be provided for bringing about a transformation in the opposite direction.

Commendably Lu Hsün expressed these views when the victory was being won, not when it was already lost. This undoubtedly amounted to giving a dose of some cooling solution to people who were then puffed up with excitement. Concluding his article, he wrote: "On this day the grand ceremony of celebration is held, I take the liberty of dedicating these jumbled words to the revolutionary masses in Canton. I fervently hope that their enthusiasm will not be dampened by my disconcerting remarks because they still have plenty of time in the future to make up. If, however, they lose heart, that will be proof of the revolutionary spirit dissipating." Historical dialectics is merciless: if the triumphant people then took no heed of Lu Hsün's "disconcerting remarks," then facts would sooner or later bring out the truth in a more "disconcerting" manner.

Lu Hsün's "disconcerting remarks" in fact embodied fiery revolutionary passion. Instead of pessimistically identifying the victory as the beginning of defeat in view of the factors affecting us and the enemies, he indicated that the only way for keeping the victory of the revolution was to "forever attack."

"Winning the final victory does not lie in the number of jubilant people but in the number of those who are forever on the attack."

"Forever attack" may be seen as a conclusion of the article. Only by attacking continuously can we forestall the enemy's probings. Only by attacking continuously can we enable the revolutionary contingent to maintain and carry forward the revolutionary spirit during arduous tests. Only by attacking continuously can we "consolidate our own victories" so the wheel of the revolution keeps rolling forward without pause. In this short article Lu Hsün repeated the word "attack" three times, indicating that a battle-tested old fighter was issuing an urgent call just a moment before the reactionary forces furiously hit back! What a sincere exhortation to the next generation from a revolutionary who had more than once witnessed the fruits of victory changing hands!

In this article it was the last time that Lu Hsün dwelt on how revolutionaries should deal with the enemy and how to maintain the revolutionary spirit during periods of revolutionary victory and in regions where revolution was victorious. He did not have the same opportunity before he died. To the revolutionary people of today who live under the condition of the dictatorship of the proletariat, this article is of special, immediate educational significance. To greet the great victory of liberation throughout the China mainland more than 20 years later, Chairman Mao in his brilliant work "Carry the Revolution Through to the End" and in his report to the 2nd Plenary Session of the 7th Party Central Committee cautioned the whole Party to guard against the possible generation of arrogance and stagnation after victory was won, so as to avert being defeated by the enemy's sugar-coated bullets.

He also called upon the whole Party to keep fighting without interruption in the long journey of the revolution. This great teaching of Chairman Mao's, which became the guide for the whole Party after liberation, embodies the crystallization of the historical experience gained by generations of revolutionaries including Lu Hsün. Lu Hsün did not live to see the day of victory, but his last words will always be remembered by the victorious people.

II

This article also provides us with important material for the study of Lu Hsün's ideas and their development.

Marxist-Leninist philosophy calls upon us to pay special attention to the "key juncture of quantitative change going over to qualitative change"* in studying the process of every movement. In Lu Hsün's transformation from a revolutionary democrat to a communist, his ideological development likewise involved a process of from quantitative to qualitative change. Regarding the question of the "key juncture" and when this occurred, the moot point is still not settled. It is our view that it occurred during the Canton period, particularly before and after the "April 12" counter-revolutionary coup staged by Chiang Kai-shek. The article, written on April 10, recorded his thoughts on the eve of an ideological breakthrough after he drew lessons from the bloody class struggle, a most precious revelation of the "key juncture" in the development of his thoughts.

This record furnishes yet another proof that Lu Hsün to a certain extent had come into contact with Marxism-Leninism before his world outlook began to undergo a qualitative change.

In the past some people thought that before this transformation in world outlook took place, Lu Hsün had nothing to do with Marxism-Leninism. Others acknowledged the connection and noted the growth of the factors of Marxist-Leninist class theory in his thinking, yet they said that the development of his thinking took place spontaneously in the practice of struggle without his going through study and inculcation. Still others deferred to a very late period the qualitative change in his world outlook on the basis of his previous contact with Marxism-Leninism. But new material that has come to light since the great cultural revolution reveals that Lu Hsün came in contact with the Communist Manifesto** as early as the 1920's. In 1925 he collected Lenin's work "The State and Revolution"*** serialized in the supplement of Kuo-min Hsin-pao. This

---

* Engels, Dialectics of Nature

** See Shih I-ko, Biography of Lu Hsün.

*** These clippings are now kept in the Lu Hsün Museum in Peking.

shows that the views given above are unfounded. In this respect, the newly discovered article is even more convincing than the material cited above. The article not only accurately elucidates Lenin's viewpoint but refers to Lenin four times. He said that Lenin was "well aware of the causes of the success or failure of previous revolutions, and himself accumulated a lot of experience," that "he thought and spoke much more straightforwardly than we Chinese." This suffices to show that Lu Hsün neither came into contact with Marxism-Leninism for the first time nor quoted from it by accident.

Although the element of Marxism-Leninism did not then predominate Lu Hsün's thinking as a whole, it played a positive role. When he began writing this article, his thoughts drifted from the young fighters on the front and the lessons drawn from the Revolution of 1911 to the activities of the reactionaries in the north.... "What appears to be fine ideas often drifted away like a kite cut loose from the broken thread." Then suddenly he quoted Lenin and this "held back" all the "fine ideas." This of course is a way of writing articles, but it is also a graphic illustration of the fact that Lu Hsün at the time began to use Marxism-Leninism to sort out and summarize his own ideas.

Here, Lu Hsün came upon an important problem of how to relate his understanding of Marxist-Leninist ideas with his previously gained experience in struggle. After quoting Lenin, he returned to his previously held view about beating the "dog in the water." It is quite apparent that on the one hand he was pleased with this "identity of views" and, on the other, was impressed by the clearly stated Leninist thesis that answered China's historical and current problems. Therefore, he repeatedly spoke of the "simple and clear" Leninist theses in laudatory terms and declared they were beyond those who had not gained rich revolutionary experience. He even explicitly pointed out: "Neglecting this point, in my opinion, explains why previously Chinese revolutionaries suffered repeated setbacks." It was not easy for Lu Hsün to reduce a host of complicated problems and find a single solution for them. In the article he also cited some old cases as his basis: "Victors in succeeding generations," "the several emperors in the early Ch'ing period" and "Yüan Shih-k'ai after the second year of the Republic".... reciting the old cases is not a simple repetition, because, as he was happy to see that the historical experience with which he was familiar had been raised to a new plane by Marxist-Leninist theories and given a new militant life, he felt it necessary to state them once again.

In a word, what he had personally observed testified again and again to the correctness of Marxism-Leninism and this strengthened his faith in it. On the other hand, he used Marxism-Leninism to examine and refine these experiences until the stale was rejected and the fresh absorbed. We can see that Lu Hsün was different from both the narrow-minded empiricists and rigid dogmatists. In modern Chinese intellectual and cultural circles, not many can compare with Lu Hsün in terms of varied experience in braving the revolutionary storm and in going through the crucible of struggle. Lu Hsün, however, was not obsessed with experience but continued to study hard to meet the practical revolutionary

needs so as to raise both historical and current experience to the plane of Marxist-Leninist truth -- "to systematize and synthesize experience to make it reach the theoretical level." Consequently, what he learned from Marxism-Leninism was not abstract, hollow, and dogmatic but closely related to the history of the Chinese revolution, the immediate struggle and his own ideas to generate something that was fresh and full of animation and vigor.

This approach to study -- "proceeding from a conscientious study of the realities of the Chinese history and revolutionary practice" and "integrating Marxist-Leninist theories with the practice of the Chinese revolution" -- enabled Lu Hsün to gradually store up those new elements generated from his mind. By the time he came to writing the article "The Side That Celebrates the Recovery of Shanghai and Nanking," the trickle of ideas had crystallized and reached the "key juncture from quantitative to qualitative change." This process of assimilation and crystallization formed the cornerstone of his world outlook undergoing a qualitative change. It also foreshadowed the inexorable trend of this qualitative change. Without understanding this, it would be impossible to see why Lu Hsün went over to the communist side during the most difficult years of the Chinese revolution. Equally inexplicable would have been his later preoccupation with the study of Marxism-Leninism, instead of resorting to other mentally uplifting means, when he was upset by a host of "knotty problems." This shows why he experienced a quickening of the process of effecting a qualitative change in his world outlook. Marxist-Leninists do not become what they are overnight. Weren't some of Lu Hsün's contemporaries fond of talking about using the "experiences of blood and tears to open up the road of reform," instead of applying themselves to the study of revolutionary theory? Hadn't some people with a smattering of Marxism-Leninism declared themselves overnight to be Marxist-Leninists? Yet none of them in the end became a communist, with some even drifting toward reaction. By way of contrast, this shows Lu Hsün's greatness.

This newly discovered article also illustrates from another angle Lu Hsün's contacts with the Chinese Communist Party and the influence of such contacts on his thought.

Lu Hsün disclosed in the article that the quotation from Lenin came from "a certain periodical," which was later found to be Young Pioneers, organ of the CCP-led CYL Kwangtung Regional Committee. It appeared in the No. 8 (November 11, 1926) issue of that periodical. There was a reason why Lu Hsün came upon this periodical which was published long before he arrived in Kwangtung.

As recorded in "Lu Hsün's Diary," CCP member Hua Lei and others called on him on January 31, 1927 -- less than half a month after Lu's arrival in Kwangtung. Hua brought him 12 copies of Young Pioneers as a gift.

Later, in the article "How To Write" Lu Hsün, recalling Hua Lei, wrote: "He presented me a dozen copies of Young Pioneers -- a publication containing items written by communist youths."*

Then, it was stated in the No. 5 issue of the weekly "Party Branch Life," a mimeographed pamphlet for internal circulation published by the CCP Branch of Chungshan University:

"The District Committee asked Hua Lei to take 12 copies of Young Pioneers to Lu Hsün."**

The above items tally with recorded facts. They prove that Lu Hsün not only wrote the article "The Side That Celebrates the Recovery of Shanghai and Nanking" but he did have frequent contacts with the CCP during his stay in Canton. For instance, he carefully looked over and studied CCP and CYL official publications and accepted their contents about Marxism-Leninism. As far as Lu Hsün himself was concerned, making contact with the Party and getting hold of Marxism-Leninism complemented each other.

Continued development of such contacts soon produced a strong impact on the transformation of Lu Hsün's world outlook. In the newly discovered article he recalled how he "met several young people enlisting in the army in Huangp'u, and only then did I realize that it was these people who were braving it out on the front. When I thought of how I deceived the audience into applauding me by talking about some nonsense in the lecture room, I should really feel ashamed." A few days later he was proven wrong in admiring all young people who came to join the Northern Expedition. He wrote: "Later I knew I was wrong. .... When I was in Kwangtung I saw young people split into two major camps. They either acted as informers or assisted the authorities in arresting people. My thinking for that reason came to pieces."*** One group of young people bared their fangs while Hua Lei and other young CCP and CYL members were slaughtered. The sudden appearance of "two major camps" made Lu Hsün see the correctness of the Marxist class theory. The killing of Hua Lei and others caused him to come to the realization that the enemy was really afraid of what these Communists stood for -- naturally including the words of Lenin carried in the Young Pioneers. In other words, at this juncture the Chinese Communists in a more profound sense once again presented Lu Hsün with Marxism-Leninism in the form of fearless combat and supreme sacrifice.

---

* "How To Write (First of Evening Entries)," Three-Leisures Collection.

** See Hsin-hua Monthly Bulletin, No. 10, 1961.

*** "Preface" to Three-Leisures Collection.

This is the key to bringing about a qualitative change in his world outlook, a new starting point of close links between him and Marxism-Leninism and the Chinese Communist Party, even to the extent of "sharing life together."

III

Lastly, let's talk about the reason for the loss of this article.

In his "Preface to Articles Not Collected in the Collection," Lu Hsün mentioned several possibilities of some of his writings and translations becoming lost:

"Some may be missing because the manuscripts have not been kept or just forgotten. Some may be deliberately dropped because they appear to be exact translations taken from sources which bear no records. Some are not worthy of publication because they deal with one individual or event and have no bearing on the general situation. Some are simply thrown away because they are practical jokes or are based on misunderstanding and lose their meaning a few days later."

The newly discovered article does not seem to be lost because it was "deliberately dropped." Was it "forgotten"? No, either.

In December 1927, Lu Hsün, who had arrived at Shanghai, published an article "On the Clock Tower," in which he recalled his life and thoughts during his stay in Canton:

"Writing an article for a certain quarter I said that if the white-sun-on-the-blue sky flag was hoisted far and wide, more devotees would appear. But if Buddhist devotees were also treated as monks or nuns, then rules and taboos would often be broken. Whether this had something to do with the broad-mindedness or decay of Buddhism was beyond my knowledge. .... Eventually I did not publish the article, and it could no longer be traced...."*

Coming to this in the past, we always had a feeling of regret. But we can now say with excitement that this lost article referred to above is presumably "The Side That Celebrates the Recovery of Shanghai and Nanking," judging by the content. The article was published in early May, when Lu Hsün, in protest against the brutal slaughter of Communists by the reactionaries, angrily resigned all posts at Chungshan University. He was then living in Paiyunlou, besieged as he was on all sides by dark forces. In letters to his friends, he often complained about being "hungry and in dizzy spells."** He was therefore little informed because

---

* "On the Clock Tower (Second of Evening Entries)," Three-Leisures Collection.

** "Letters to Chai Yung-k'un."

of reduced contacts. "Unfortunately, I am not aware of the happenings around here, though information should be available."* As a result, when the lost article appeared in a rather obscure column in the supplement of Kuo-min Hsin-min, it even escaped his notice, and he all along believed that this article "was never in print." Yet he did not forget about it. According to our reasoning, not until the collapse of the great revolution did he bring it up again with mixed feelings.

The disappearance of the article seems accidental, but it is not without profound social causes. If Lu Hsün had seen the article in print or kept the original draft, things would hardly have changed for the better. Not long after the publication of the article, as Lu Hsün on numerous occasions revealed, the Kuomintang reactionaries holding blood-stained butcher knives became more and more frenzied in blockading and strangling the expression of progressive views and commentaries. In cases involving the use of such words as "fire," "red" and "fierce" in novels, these were without exception confiscated and destroyed.** After Lu Hsün's arrival in Shanghai, his works were either banned or altered and parts thereof deleted by the reactionary authorities. As a result, he had to write in oblique fashion to propagate the revolution. In his own words, it was like "dancing with chains."*** In a word, it became virtually impossible for this article which quoted Lenin to be circulated in public together with his other collected works at a time the Kuomintang reactionaries were at the helm. The fate of this "lost" article was sealed.

The most precious writing of the Chinese people remained in obscurity during the dark years. Today, after the great proletarian cultural revolution, it was rediscovered after it was covered by half a century of dust, and its radiance restored in the land where the revolutionary people have become masters. The fate of this article mirrors the features of two societies. It is true that we live in an environment that is totally different from that in which Lu Hsün lived. Therefore, when we pick up this article again, it cannot help generating a sort of massive intellectual power. If a great revolutionary studied and propagated the Marxist-Leninist theory on strengthening the revolutionary dictatorship at the risk of losing his own life and in the midst of hostile circumstances, do we have any good reason now for not conscientiously implementing Chairman Mao's important instruction on the question of theories and not studying them with greater and better results?

*

---

* "Letters to Chai Yung-k'un."

** See "Mixed Feelings," That's It Collection.

*** "Postscript," Ch'iehchieht'ing Miscellaneous Essays, Part II.

Text of Lu Hsün's Lost Article

The Side That Celebrates the Recovery of Shanghai and Nanking

There seems to be particularly more commemorative and celebration ceremonies in Canton. There is nothing strange about this when the revolution is going forward and victories are being won. On the day I read cabled reports on the recovery of Shanghai and Nanking, I twice privately expressed my feelings of jubilation. "Others have worked so hard, and I merely feel happy." But collecting my thoughts and writing something about this has confronted me with enormous difficulties. As a matter of fact, this is not an appropriate moment to write because what I'm going to say may be far removed from the reality. But I do want to write something pertinent, yet my mind is still rather confused. What appears to be fine ideas often drift away like a kite cut loose from the broken thread. Suddenly I recalled that I saw several young people enlisting in the army in Huangp'u, and only then did I realize that it was these people who were braving it out on the front. When I thought of how I deceived the audience into applauding me by talking about some nonsense in the lecture room, I really should feel ashamed. Then, as suddenly my thought went back to 16 years ago, when Nanking was then recaptured and a monument was built in the memory of those fighters who laid down their lives. After the second year of the Republic this monument was torn down by Chang Hsün; this year it may probably be re-built. I also thought of the arrest in Peking of Li Shou-ch'ang as reported in Hsün-huan Jih-pao of Hong Kong. His round face and the Chinese-type drooping black moustache floated before my eyes. I wonder how he is now.

In the dark areas the work of the counter-revolutionaries is quietly in progress. Although there are groans in the rear, there are also a number of people who are filled with joy. Groans and jubilations in the rear are of course different, but both are insignificant. Winning the final victory does not lie in the number of jubilant people but in the number of those who are forever on the attack. I remember a certain periodical once carried the following quotation from Lenin:

> First, let's not be intoxicated with victory nor be arrogant; second, consolidate the victory that has been won; third, wipe out the enemy completely because he is only defeated but far from being completely annihilated.

Russia after all is a land of revolution, and Lenin is after all an old hand at revolution. He could not speak out unless he was well aware of the causes of success or failure of previous revolutions, and himself accumulated a lot of experience. Neglecting this point, in my opinion, explains why previously Chinese revolutionaries suffered repeated setbacks. To be intoxicated with the song of triumph when there is a small victory and to slacken and forget to attack gives the enemy a chance to arise again.

I wrote a short article the year before last suggesting that the "dog in the water" must still be beaten. Then some honest people came forward and considered this as cruel, not generous nor tolerant. Furthermore, they said, what you did to others, others would do to you, and there would be no end to retaliation and counter-retaliation. I don't know what it is like in foreign countries but in China none of the victors in succeeding generations was not cruel. Take a few recent examples. The several emperors of the early Ch'ing period and Yüan Shih-k'ai after the second year of the Republic exterminated all their opponents. Yet they always talked about generosity and tolerance, mercy and benevolence. But what they said didn't seem as simple and clear as Lenin. Lenin after all is a Russian, and he thinks and speaks much more straightforwardly than we Chinese. In China, as a matter of fact, up to now those who applied such nice terms as generosity, tolerance, kindness and benevolence both in name and in practice generally failed, while those who employed these terms in name only succeeded. However, they after all duped a group of fools, who still believed in them.

Celebrations are irrelevant to revolution; at most they are merely some decorations. Joining in the celebrations and singing songs, many people are intoxicated with the revolution. It is fine indeed but this sometimes would corrupt the revolutionary spirit and make it flippant. The growth of the revolutionary forces would inevitably be followed by growing numbers of people with revolutionary aspirations. After the unification I am afraid the Research Group would also talk about revolution. Didn't Modern Review change its tune toward the end of last year? Comparing its views with those it expressed at the time of the "March 18 Tragedy," I really suspect they all obtained pills of immortality and underwent a complete transformation all of a sudden. Previously I had some prejudice against Buddhism, thinking that only the stoics could be Buddhists. Then, when rich people who were used to wine and meat could call themselves Buddhist devotees by eating only a vegetarian meal, Buddhism was spread far and wide. Because people could follow this religion so easily, it turned flippant and came to naught. This is also true with revolution. The firm attackers march forward, leaving behind vast areas where revolution has been completed. So, we may again cheer freely and show the color of a revolutionary, but that has nothing to do with revolution. With so many people acting like this, the revolutionary spirit would subside and vanish, and the old order would return.

Kwangtung is the mecca of revolution; hence also it is the first to become the rear of revolution, and hence also it is the first to face the above-mentioned crisis.

On this day the grand ceremony of celebration is held, I take the liberty of dedicating these jumbled words to the revolutionary masses in Canton. I fervently hope that their enthusiasm will not be dampened by my disconcerting remarks because they still have plenty of time in the future to make up. If, however, they lose heart, that will be proof of the revolutionary spirit dissipating.

(April 10)

(Originally carried in the supplement "New Way Out," No. 11, of Kuo-min Hsin-min in Canton on May 5, 1927, it was republished in the issue of the Philosophy and Social Science Edition of Chungshan University Journal. When it appears here, the wording has been checked.)

* * *

Develop the Economy, Consolidate Political Power

- Read Ch'ao Ts'o's "Memorial on Giving Priority to Grain"

by

Theoretical Group of Unit 52875, Chinese People's Liberation Army

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 4, August 20, 1975)

During the Wen-Ching period of Western Han, the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration, that is, between the remnant forces of slave-owners and the newly emerging landlord class, never ceased for a single day. In this period the Legalist statesman Ch'ao Ts'o advanced a series of political proposals to defend and develop the Legalist line. In doing so, he made important contributions to strengthening the central authority of the landlord class, safeguarding the unity of the country and developing social production. His works were praised as "great works of Western Han" with "far-reaching benefits to succeeding generations." (Lu Hsün, "Outline History of Han Literature") "Memorial on Giving Priority to Grain" was one of his famous political and economic papers.

Marxism holds that "labor productivity is,in the final analysis, the most important and the most essential thing assuring the victory of the new social system." ("A Great Beginning") Under any new social system, new relations of production are of course the main driving force behind the productive forces, with the new ruling class using its political strength to promote large-scale changes in the system of ownership in order to raise social labor productivity and assure the ultimate victory of the new social system. This is an historical law independent of man's will.

In the historical course in which the feudal society prevailed over the slave society in our country, the newly emerging landlord class, in order to develop social production and assure the victory of the new social system, waged a prolonged and devious trial of strength with the slave-owning class on the political and economic fronts. This struggle became even more acute and complicated with the establishment of a unified feudal state of centralized power. Agriculture was a production sector with decisive significance in feudal society, and therefore the struggle in this field was particularly sharp.

With a view to safeguarding and developing the feudal economy, attacking the old aristocrats of the six states and restricting slave-owners in industry and commerce, Ch'in Shih Huang adopted a number of rigorous measures to put the feudal relations of production in a dominant position on a national scale. After the inauguration of the Western Han Dynasty, Han Kao Tsu, Liu Pang, continued to adopt Ch'in's institutions, insisted on taking agriculture as the foundation, and pursued the policy of stressing agriculture and restraining commerce. At that time, apart from ordering the release of slaves and winning more manpower for the landlord economy,

he continued to resettle "descendants of the nobles of the six states" and "powerful families," in other words, removing the remnant elements of aristocratic slave-owners and slave-owners in industry and commerce from their old nests in order to expropriate their land and other assets. Moreover, it was clearly stipulated that merchants were required to pay high taxes and were not allowed to wear clothes of silk, carry arms, ride in carriages or on horses, enter government service, etc. These measures to a definite extent restricted the production under the slave system and expanded the economy under the feudal system, thereby promoting the rehabilitation and development of social production.

However, as the landlord class regime still lacked corresponding measures to restrict them economically, the slave-owner forces, owing to their numerous connections in industry and commerce, continued to expand economically, in spite of political restrictions and blows. Slave-owners in industry and commerce, who held large amounts of money and assets, "amassed wealth with secondary occupations and preserved them with the foundation" by vigorously acquiring lands. This resulted in poverty and privation on the part of peasants.

It was under these circumstances that Ch'ao Ts'o's "Memorial on Giving Priority to Grain" was submitted. The "Memorial" pointed out right from the start: "Opening up financial resources," namely, developing agricultural production in order to increase the financial income of the feudal state, was an important problem facing the "true king" in governing his state and consolidating his rule. At that time, there were neither wars nor natural calamities, yet the state had little "reserves" and the life of the people was "hard." This, in Ch'ao's view, was because manpower had not yet been fully absorbed into the feudal economy as "there are people who lead an idle life and have not returned to the farms." It was also because production was inadequately developed as "both land and labor have not been fully utilized." As a statesman of the landlord class more than 2,000 years ago, Ch'ao could not possibly recognize the significance of labor productivity to assuring the victory of the new social system. Yet, opposing the Confucian fallacy that "it is benevolence and righteousness, not material gain, that matters," he raised "opening up financial resources" to a rather high position, took a serious view of social and economic problems, and linked the development of agricultural production with the consolidation of the political power of the landlord class, thus to a certain degree coming into contact with the truth of historical development.

Not only that, but Ch'ao in his "Memorial" further saw that there was a deeper reason why there were people who stayed away from the farms and why the fertility of the land and the strength of the people had not been fully developed. This reason was: "Marchants" were "acquiring peasants," in other words, slave-owners in industry and commerce were working for the destruction of the feudal economy.

From the time when Emperor Kao, Liu Pang, ordered agriculture to be stressed and commerce to be restrained to the time of Ch'ao Ts'o, some 40 years had elapsed. Merchants were indeed discriminated against politically and socially and were also subjected to certain economic restrictions.

However, since the mode of production under the slave system suffered no basic blows in industry and commerce, by the time of Emperor Wen there appeared in society large groups of big salt and iron merchants, big hoarders, big merchants in trading and transport, and big usurers. Wealthy salt and iron merchants combined their industrial and trading activities, with a high rate of turnover and growth in commercial and production capital, and some of them had a work force of 700-800 slaves. The big hoarders engaged in speculation and cornered the market to reap fabulous profits. The wealthy transport merchants, who also engaged in buying and selling, had large vessels and thousands of vehicles. The big moneylenders lent out their money at usurious rates, in some cases ten times the principal. As Ch'ao pointed out, among these people "men do not plow and women do not raise silkcocoons and weave; but they have the best clothes and the finest food. They do not suffer like peasants, yet they take the yields of the land." They were, in short, a band of parasites in society. These parasites also "acquire peasants" as they pleased, forcing the latter to "sell their lands and houses and their children," to flee to other areas, and even sink into the slave status by whole groups, to the direct detriment of the feudal relations of production. Even worse, they "because of their wealth maintain illicit relations with the princes." Collaborating with local feudal lords, they challenged the central authority and carried out restorationist activities on a large scale. Banking on their superior economic conditions and coordinating with the armed rebellions of the princes and the harrassments of the Hun slave-owners, they attempted to strangulate the central government economically. "Even with their enormous wealth, they offered no assistance whatsoever to the state in case of need." ("Letter on P'inghuai, Historical Records") They were a band of extremely ferocious social forces.

Ch'ao's analysis of the acquisition of "peasants" by "merchants" succinctly illustrated the disruptive role of the remnant forces of slave-owners in the social economy. It pointed out that due to the failure to wage an effective economic struggle, a paradoxical situation appeared: "the laws discriminate against merchants, yet merchants prosper; the laws favor peasants, yet peasants are impoverished." This was a major issue hindering the development of the feudal economy and affecting the consolidation of the political power of the landlord class. "The laws are ineffective and the state is not enriched." Therefore, this was a question that must be given serious attention and solved satisfactorily. Ch'ao believed that the only way to solve this problem was to vigorously develop agriculture under the feudal system. He said: "Now there is no more urgent task than that of making the people work in the fields." To this end, Ch'ao proposed to take "giving priority to grain" as a policy of the feudal state. In other words, the "people" (referring mainly to the landlord class) of the world might gain nobility or have their sentences commuted or lifted by offering grain to the state. He held that by carrying out this policy of "giving priority to grain," it would surely be possible to encourage agricultural production, because "grain is grown by the people on the land; if they can get a high nobility status or a reduction or removal of their sentences with the grain they grow, they will do so happily." As far as the feudal state was concerned, there were three advantages: "One, the ruler will have ample grain stocks; second, the people will pay less taxes; and third, people will exert themselves in farming." The result would be that "grain will be stored

everywhere, granaries will be filled, and adequate stocks will be held against flood and drought," and that the power of the state would be increased and the rule of the central authority of the landlord class consolidated. Both Emperor Wen and Emperor Ching seriously adopted Ch'ao's proposals and gained remarkable achievements in developing the economy and consolidating political power. This changed the situation that prevailed in early Han, when "people were unemployed and suffered from widespread starvation," "the Son of Heaven could not afford fine wine and horses and the ministers and generals had to ride on cattle-drawn carts," and the agricultural economy was badly devastated. When Emperor Wu ascended to the throne after Emperor Ching's death, the "state treasury had surplus funds" and "state granaries were filled." "Horses neighed in the streets and large crowds of people were seen in the fields." The accumulation of huge amounts of material wealth and the vigorous development of the feudal economy by the landlord class laid a strong foundation for a prosperous Western Han empire.

The advocacy of "giving priority to grain" was, from the first, an important component part of the Legalist idea of stressing agriculture. Shang Yang had long before put forward the method of "conferring official titles on people who offer their surplus grain to the state" in order to encourage the people to "devote ceaseless efforts to agriculture" ("Order, Book of Lord Shang") and in order to develop the feudal landlord economy. This policy was equated with that of offering official titles to those who won military merit. However, due to lack of historical record, there is no way for us to know how this policy was implemented. In the first and the 6th year of the reign of Emperor Hui of Han, people were permitted to buy and sell their official titles, the transactions conducted not with "grain" but with "money." This of course did not provide an impetus to agricultural production but instead benefited merchants with their "enormous wealth."

Ch'ao Ts'o clearly defined his policy of "giving priority to grain" and urged that it be first introduced in the border areas so that "people along the border could have grain stocks lasting for five years" and then in prefectures and counties, so that by the time prefectures and counties built up their stocks "lasting for over one year, rents would not have to be collected from peasants." ("Treatise of Agriculture, History of Han") This obviously was a major development and supplement to the traditional policy of "stressing agriculture and restraining commerce."

Naturally, the policy of "giving priority to grain," a policy which conferred titles on those who offered grain or removed the sentence imposed on them, first of all accorded the rich political and legal privileges. So, needless to say, this policy had a class character. While stimulating agricultural production, it also raised the social and political status of the landlord class. However, the vast masses of toiling peasants not only had no grain to buy official titles but had to share the corvee labor from which rich people who bought official titles were exempted. This added to their burden in doing corvee labor. When we read the "Memorial" today, we must not forget that it was a policy of the landlord class, nor must we lose sight of its class limitations. But we should also see that the "Memorial" reflected the wishes of the newly emerging landlord class in

developing the economy and consolidating political power in order to bring about a thorough defeat of the remnant forces of slave-owners, and put forward corresponding measures to do so. It will do us good to sum up, study and analyze some of the experiences and problems in this respect.

* * *

The Exploration of Petroleum and Natural Gas and the Confucian-Legalist Struggle in Ancient China

by

Theoretical Group of No. 1 Division,
Multi-Purpose Institute, Petrochemical
Scientific Research Academy

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 4, August 20, 1975)

China was one of the earliest countries in the world to discover and use petroleum and natural gas. The laboring people were the masters in the exploration of petroleum and natural gas in our country. For more than two thousand years, the struggle between the Confucian and Legalist lines deeply influenced all aspects of social life in our country and also influenced the development of science and technology (including the exploration of petroleum and natural gas). Today, to seriously sum up the historical experience in this respect with Marxism as the guide will help us further understand the relationship of the line to the development of science and technology and production, and will be of positive significance in promoting our theoretical studies and our effort to grasp the line and develop the national economy.

The Laboring People Are the Masters in the Exploration and Utilization of Petroleum and Natural Gas

"The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." The exploration and utilization of petroleum and natural gas in our country were directly linked with the laboring people's production and class struggles. The Chinese laboring people discovered the phenomenon of combustion on the surface of water long ago. By the Ch'in-Han period, as a result of the reform of the relations of production and the development of the productive forces, the laboring people in the course of practical struggle deepened their understanding of the phenomenon of combustion on the surface of water and discovered petroleum. According to such books as "History of Han: Records of Geography" and "Notes on Waterways: Chapter on River Waters," during the period of Ch'in the laboring people in Kaonu county (along present-day Yenan) discovered combustible liquid on the surface of the Wei River, a tributary of the Yenshui River, and used it as fuel. This shows that China began to make use of petroleum long ago.

In the era of the Han Dynasty the laboring people found petroleum in the spring water flowing from the South Mountain in Yenshou county, Chiuch'uan prefecture (including the area where the present-day Yümen Oilfield is located), and called it "bitumen." They brought it home with vessels and found that "yellow at first it turned black later" and "burned brilliantly." At the same time, they saw it "as being no different from grease," and used it to lubricate vehicles and water-mills. ("History

of Latter Han: Records of Prefectures and Principalities" and "Notes on Waterways: Chapter on River Waters") Using petroleum as lubricant was an invention of the Chinese laboring people.

During the periods of the Southern and Northern Dynasties and the Sui and T'ang Dynasties, petroleum was also successively discovered in K'uch'e, Sinkiang, and other areas. The laboring people carried out extensive research into the form and color and properties of petroleum and its exploration, using it not only for purposes of lighting, painting, and lubricating machines and vehicles but also as a weapon. In 578 A.D., the laboring people in Chiuch'uan prefecture repulsed the attack by the aristocrats of the Turks by burning their city-attacking instruments with petroleum. (Li Chi-fu, Records of Prefectures and Counties in Yuan Ho)

By the Sung Dynasty, petroleum was put to more diverse uses. At that time in Fiencing (K'aifeng) workshops processing petroleum for military uses appeared. In his book Wu Ching Chung Yao (武经总要), Tseng Kung-liang recorded "fire vehicles" laden with oil-soaked charcoal (used for "setting fire to cities") and a kind of sprayers ("fire drums") filled with gunpowder. These kinds of weapons carried mechanical devices such as oil boxes or cylinders. The laboring people also used asphalt, a petroleum product, to control the speed of combustion of gunpowder, and made asphalt the raw material for the preparation of gunpowder. This major invention was made nearly a thousand years earlier than in foreign countries. Shen K'uo's Meng Chi Pi T'an (梦溪笔谈) described the moving scene in Yenchou where he witnessed with his eyes how the local people extracted petroleum and used soot to make ink, and for the first time used the two words "shih yu" (petroleum). In their struggle against diseases, the laboring people also carried out a great deal of research into the medicinal properties of petroleum. The Sung Dynasty's Chia Yu Pen Ts'ao (嘉祐本草) and Pen Ts'ao Yen I (本草衍义) already recorded the efficacy of petroleum for medical purposes. In the Yüan Dynasty there were rather large candle workshops using paraffin-wax as raw material. ("Records of Unification of Great Yüan") By the Ming Dynasty the laboring people further mastered the technique of refining lamp oil. The people of northern Shensi filled leather with petroleum, fried it and used it for lighting lamps. (Ts'ao Chao, Ko Ku Yao Lun 格古要论)

The exploration of natural gas in our country had as long a history as that of petroleum. According to such books as Hua Yang Kuo Chih (华阳国志), as early as the Ch'in-Han period, the laboring people in our country already began to tap gas to prepare salt, more than a thousand years /sic./ earlier than England which claimed to be the first country to use natural gas (1668). At that time, the laboring people in Szechwan, when digging salt wells, discovered natural gas. When they threw matches into a well, "there was a thunderous sound, followed by vapor shooting from it to the sky illuminating ten miles." Therefore, people called natural gas wells "volcanic wells," and "got well fire" to prepare salt. "With ten tou of water they could make 4-5 tou of salt," doubling the daily output of salt prepared by "domestic fire" (the burning of firewood).

In their exploration for petroleum and natural gas, the hard-working and brave Chinese people gradually invented a set of well drilling techniques in the course of production. As early as two thousand years ago, our ancestors began to dig wells. By the Northern Sung Dynasty, large-mouth shallow wells were generally abandoned, and shaft wells with a depth of over 1,000 feet were dug. During the years of Chengte in the Ming Dynasty our country had government-operated enterprises extracting oil from deep wells. Approximately in the 11th century China's deep well drilling techniques began to be introduced into the West. Until 1900, oil and gas wells in other regions of the world were basically sunk using the "blast-type 'sinking method'" created by the Chinese people. China's first drilled well with a depth of a thousand meters was completed approximately in 1100. Well drilling techniques in the West developed several hundred years later than in our country. It was only in 1859 that the United States drilled its so-called "first oil well in the world," yet the depth of the well was only 21.2 meters. Russia drilled its first well in 1863.

Facts eloquently show that "China was one of the earliest countries with a developed civilization in the world" and that "the masses of the people have unlimited creative power." The Chinese laboring people wrote with their two hard-working hands important chapters in the history of exploration of petroleum and natural gas in ancient times. They were the real masters in the exploration and utilization of petroleum and natural gas.

The exploration and utilization of petroleum and natural gas are closely related to the social system and the political line. As a rule, they serve a definite political line and are dominated by a definite ideological and political line. The struggle between the Confucian and Legalist lines in Chinese history exerted a direct influence on the exploration and utilization of petroleum and natural gas.

Influence of Confucian-Legalist Struggle on Development of Petroleum and Natural Gas Enterprises

In the history of exploration of petroleum and natural gas in the world, China was once an advanced country. Ancient petroleum and natural gas enterprises were developed by the laboring people after they smashed the chains of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. The Legalist political line favoring reform and progress and calling for the development of production to make a state rich economically and strong militarily played a positive role in the development of the petroleum and natural gas enterprises. However, oppression by the reactionary ruling classes and obstruction by the Confucian line gravely hindered the development of petroleum and natural gas enterprises in ancient China.

The Confucian and Legalist lines produced two different kinds of influence on the development of ancient China's petroleum and natural gas enterprises. One illustration of this is provided by the rise and decline of the natural gas enterprises in Linch'iung (present-day Ch'iunglai county), Szechwan. Linch'iung was a county in the Shu prefecture during the Ch'in Dynasty, and the first in our country to use natural gas to prepare salt. Impelled by Ch'in Shih Huang's line giving impetus to the development of production, Linch'iung was one of the three well-known salt producing counties in Szechwan and began to use natural gas to prepare salt. When Emperor Wu of Han used the Legalist Sang Hung-yang to put "the salt and iron industries under government management," the gas extraction and salt industries flourished, and the number of salt-producing counties in Szechwan rose from three at the time of Ch'in to 16. In Linch'iung the natural gas enterprises made further progress. However, by the time of Eastern Han, particularly its later period, the rulers, who represented the interests of the powerful and big landlords, pushed a Confucian line and abolished the policy of "government management of salt and iron industries." With a corrupt government, warlords fought a battle royal for years. The people were tragically trampled under, social productive forces were gravely disrupted, and the salt industry in Linch'iung declined and couldn't recover. During the period of the Three Kingdoms, Chu-ko Liang enforced the rule of law in the Shu region, developed agriculture and handicraft production, and carried out gas exploration on a fairly large scale. By then the gas extraction and salt enterprises in Linch'iung revived and prospered.

The Legalist political line, insisting on reform, progress and development of production, was characterized by a simple materialist outlook on nature and theory of knowledge. The Legalists explained nature with nature itself and opposed the Confucian "theory of Heavenly will." They believed that petroleum and natural gas were precious material and the wealth of the motherland, and that "they should be utilized, not abandoned to the ground." Some scientists with simple materialist thinking regarded the extensive utilization of natural gas in Szechwan as "putting the natural resources to proper use" and wrote such verses as "every family has a well from which salt springs, a garden where oranges grow" and "the fire well illuminates the lower world and its flames fly up the sky." During the Northern Sung period, Shen K'uo, who participated in Wang An-shih's reform, conducted scientific experiments on the use of petroleum. His book Meng Hsi Pi P'an recorded petroleum found in Li county (present-day Fu county) and Yenan in Shensi: it "burned like hemp with very thick smoke, which blackened the curtain. I thought its smoke could be put to use. So I tried the soot as ink. It was black as lacquer and even better than ink from pine soot. I used it frequently." Shen's success in substituting petroleum soot for pine soot for ink not only extended the chemical uses of petroleum but also practically initiated early experiments in the carbon black (used for the production of latex) industry using petroleum and related products as raw material. Shen also pointed out that petroleum "is inexhaustible under the ground and does not deplete itself like pine-wood sometimes does," and "this natural resource will

surely have great prospect in future generations." This reflected his materialist theory of knowledge.

The Legalists not only called for the exploration of petroleum and natural gas on the basis of civilian needs for lighting, fuels, medical application and lubrication of machines, but also regarded them as important military materials. Underscoring the need to make a state rich and its army strong and the need for it to conduct war of resistance in self-defense the Legalist line had a direct influence on the development of petroleum and natural gas enterprises in ancient times. During the Northern Sung period, in order to guard against harassments from Hsihsia, Liao and Chin aristocrats, "in the border towns in the Southwest," "large pools measuring more than one chang in width were dug for the storage of oil." (K'ang Yu-chih, Tao Mang Lu 道山录) Wang An-shih, after summing up the experience of the laboring people in using petroleum for a war of resistance in self-defense, set up workshops for processing petroleum for military uses under the Armaments Board and appointed Shen K'uo to take charge of the Board concurrently, thereby ensuring a marked improvement in the quality of military hardware and an extensive application of petroleum for military purposes.

The Legalist line regarded petroleum and natural gas as precious material, which not only must but also could be extracted. In ancient China a number of scientists with Legalist thinking made a point of summing up the practical experiences and inventions and creations of the laboring people in order to further the exploration and utilization of petroleum and natural gas. Shen K'uo, for one, advocated drawing rich nourishment from the masses. "To write about them," he said, "it is necessary to see how they have worked." During the period he was governor of Li and Yenan counties, he carried out investigations among the masses and summed up their experiences, recording and describing the names of petroleum products, producing regions, extraction and properties of petroleum and the question of how to utilize it. He wrote a poem depicting how the laboring people along Yenchou made wide use of petroleum as fuel. He said: "All the clothes are worn out, but the winter has not passed. The stone smoke is thicker than the Loyang dust." In the Ming Dynasty Li Shih-chen, while practicing medicine and collecting herbs, conducted investigation and research deep among the masses. His work Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu (本草綱目) recorded the experience of the laboring people in using petroleum for medical purposes. In T'ien Kung K'ai Wu (天工开物), Sung Ying-hsing described how the laboring people extracted gas to prepare salt, and the book was illustrated by sketches showing how salt was prepared with natural gas. He said: "For the wisest and most knowledgeable people in the world, I recommend the masses." To a certain degree he recognized the driving force of the masses in promoting the development of science and technology. Of course, it was from the angle of defending the rule of the landlord class that the Legalists dealt with the exploration and utilization of petroleum and natural gas.

As pushed by the Confucians, the line of restoration and regression propagated the idealist "concept of Heavenly will." It

shackled people's minds and throttled the petroleum and natural gas enterprises in ancient China. They believed that petroleum and natural gas were divine materials and should not and could not be extracted. The devotees of Confucius regarded such natural phenomena as sun and moon eclipses, earthquakes and thunder and rain as "disaster portents" and the "will" of Heaven. They explained the natural phenomena with Heavenly will, saying: "When a state is about to rise, there surely are auspicious signs; when a state is about to perish, there surely are evils." They included petroleum and natural gas in the category ruled by the "concept of Heavenly will," saying absurdly that "if the land were dug several hundred chang deep" in the extraction of oil, "the disasters of floods and drought would surely follow." ("Biography of Kung Yü, History of Han") Racking their brains, they linked floods and drought with the digging of the earth and the opening of mines. They described the burning of petroleum in Yümen as "fire arising from mud" and regarded this as strange as "willow turning into pine," "earthquake and landslide," etc. ("Biography of Chang T'ien-hsi, History of Tsin") They described the natural gas in Szechwan as "holy light" or "evil fire," looking upon it as a sign for the rise or decline of a dynasty. In his book "I Wan," Liu Ching-shu said: "In Linch'iung county, Shu prefecture, there are volcanic wells. When the Han House was enjoying prosperity, they burned with particular brilliance. When it declined, the force of the fire gradually waned. When Chu-ko Liang visited them, they burned with greater vehemence. By the first year of Ching Yao, people could not light their lamps, and in that year Shu was incorporated into Wei." The idealist notion of "interaction between Heaven and man" was peddled. They not only ludicrously blamed the extraction of petroleum and natural gas for floods, drought, earthquakes and landslides but also attributed the defeat in war to it. To avert "disasters," they even destroyed the wells and closed the mines and forbade extraction in any form.

Peddling the "concept of Heavenly will," the Confucians belittled production, despised the creations and inventions of the laboring people, and were hostile to newborn things. They ridiculed the laboring people for "drilling rocks in search of gold and silver," and regarded opening of mines and refining of iron as "wasteful and useless." ("See Debate on Salt and Iron") The Confucians admired those who despised labor and did not exercise their four limbs and called them "superior men" while denouncing the laboring people who created material wealth as "mean men." Under this reactionary line, the wisdom and ingenuity of the laboring people were throttled, no serious attention was given to their contributions to the development of science and technology. In ancient China the deep-well drilling machines were in the forefront of the world, yet one can hardly find any reference to them in Confucian classics. Instead, what we can see is the ferocious features of the Confucians in strangling the creations of the laboring people. For instance, they said: "Those who deceive people with strange techniques and tools deserve to be killed." (Notes on Propriety) They adopted a nihilist attitude toward our country's petroleum resources, and even up to the Ch'ing Dynasty the reactionary rulers still said such things as "petroleum is found several thousand li east of Korea."

By modern times, in the course of exploring and using petroleum and natural gas, a fierce struggle was unfolded around such questions as whether China was "poor in oil" and whether she should become independent and keep the initiative in her own hands or rely on foreign countries. The laboring people and progressive personages held that the reserves of petroleum and natural gas in our country had yet to be ascertained and that they should be explored and used independently and with initiative held in our own hands. However, the foreign aggressors said nonsensically that China was an "oil-deficient country." Colluding with Chinese reactionaries, they strangled Chinese petroleum and natural gas enterprises. During the Ch'ing Dynasty, Tseng Kuo-fan, Li Hung-chang and other ringleaders of the foreign affairs experts knew only how to worship things foreign and fawn upon foreigners and search for "foreign specialists" and "foreign models" in the development of petroleum and natural gas enterprises. They even auctioned off the material resources and allowed the imperialists to plunder them at will. The Northern Warlords and the Kuomintang reactionaries went even further and subjected our petroleum and natural gas enterprises to a prolonged and severe depression. In the 42 years from 1907 to 1949, the total footage of wells drilled in our country was only a little more than 67,000 meters, averaging some 1,500 meters annually. In the 45 years from 1904 to 1949, the total output of crude oil was a mere 2,950,000 tons. Up to the eve of liberation, old China's annual oil output was only 60,000 tons, while foreign imports exceeded 2 million tons. Under the rule of Kuomintang reactionaries, there were only 20 or more geologists engaged in oil prospecting, 10 or more well drilling engineers, and three oil mining engineers throughout the country. Old China's petroleum and natural gas enterprises were dying.

What Historical Experience Reveals to Us

In accordance with the great leader Chairman Mao's instructions, we must closely integrate our studies of theory, history and current conditions. Studying the influence of the Confucian-Legalist struggle on the development of ancient China's petroleum and natural gas enterprises enables us to further comprehend the great truth that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." It makes us realize that the development of petroleum and natural gas hinges on having a correct ideological and political line.

In history, the Confucians, represented by Confucius and Mencius, adhered to the "concept of Heavenly will," shackling people's thinking and strangling the inventions and creations of the laboring people. Inheriting the mantle of the Confucians, chieftains of the various opportunist lines within the Party not only honored Confucius and opposed the Legalists but also worshipped things foreign and sold out the country. People like Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao are also disciples of Confucius and Mencius, peddling the slavish comprador philosophy and the doctrine of crawling behind at a snail's pace. They wholly negated our country's petroleum and natural gas enterprises and wilfully undermined Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Following

imperialism and social-imperialism, they clamored for the theory that China was "poor in oil" and put forward such fallacies as "conditions decide everything" and "the theory of genius" in a vain attempt to make us submit to the will of Heaven and act like beggars to others, so that China would forever be a market for the imperialists to dump their oil. The Chinese working class, under the leadership of the Party and Chairman Mao,has firmly criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. As for the so-called theory that China is "poor in oil," Comrade Wang Chin-hsi, a representative of the Chinese working class, said rightly: "I just don't believe that oil is found only under their ground, and that such a large country as ours doesn't have big oilfields!" Refuting the theory that "conditions decide everything," he said proudly: "Let's march forward whether we have conditions or not. If we don't have the conditions, let's create them." This gives full expression to the heroic spirit of the hard-working and brave Chinese people, who do not believe in superstitions, in things foreign or in the will of Heaven but go on making revolution. The vast numbers of geological surveyors and prospectors, through strenuous efforts, have found one oilfield after another in those places where bourgeois experts and authorities insisted there was no oil, and successfully researched the theory of oil-bearing land formation. After the Tach'ing Oilfield, the Shengli Oilfield, the Takang Oilfield and other oilfields were successively opened up. Not long ago, the Soviet revisionist Tass, though confronted with facts, still stubbornly claimed that "according to general geological concepts..... land formation strata cannot possibly contain oil-bearing mineral formations," that "it is sheer sensationalism to say that there is oil in the Pohai Gulf," and so forth. Deceiving others as well as themselves, they are shameful and pitiable.

In the 25 years since liberation, China's petroleum industry has undergone tumultous changes. At a time when the major capitalist countries are going through a severe "energy crisis" and the capitalist world is plunged into chaos, China's petroleum production is rising with each passing day. This year is the 15th year for our petroleum industry to develop at the annual growth rate of over 20 percent. Gone are the days when China had to rely on "foreign oil." China's petroleum products, both in quantity and in variety, can meet the daily growing needs of the national economy and national defense construction, and there is a small amount of oil for export. "The landscape on this side is particularly good." The excellent situation in the development of China's petroleum industry is the result of serious efforts made by the masses of workers and staff on the petroleum front to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The fact that Tach'ing Oilfield has become a red banner on our industrial front is equally the result of implementing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Historical and current experiences deserve to be remembered, and the line and production are closely related to each other. To win still greater victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction, the most basic prerequisite is to firmly carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Looking back over the history of development of petroleum and natural gas in our country, one can see that the laboring people are the real masters in the exloration and utilization of petroleum and natural gas. Accomplished and progressive scientists in history were more or less able to go deep into reality and make a point of summing up the laboring people's experience. Nevertheless, due to epochal and class limitations, these Legalists and progressive scientists were unable to place full faith in and reliance on the masses. Only today, with socialism ascending, can the wisdom and ingenuity of the laboring people be brought into the fullest possible play. The Tach'ing Oilfield workers, represented by the iron man Wang Chin-hsi, are redoubling their efforts in making revolution and toiling with greater perspiration under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. With striking speed, they have performed miracles in the history of petroleum development in our country. Tach'ing has set us an example of trusting and relying on the masses, carrying out mass movements on a large scale, and taking the mass line.

Faced with the excellent situation on the petroleum front today and looking back at history, we must persist in using Marxism as the guide and study the theory of proletarian dictatorship successfully. With the Party's basic line as the key link, we must firmly grasp the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. With proletarian politics in command of economics, we must uphold the policy of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands, achieving rejuvenation through self-reliance and arduous struggle, and building up the country with diligence and thrift. We must unfold mass movements on a large scale, build socialism in a big way, develop the national economy, and strive to combat and prevent revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and build China into a modern and powerful socialist country.

* * *

The Touchstone for True and False Marxism

- The Struggle Surrounding the Question of Proletarian Dictatorship in the History of the International Communist Movement (2)*

by

Theoretical Group of the Party School of CCP
Tientsin Municipal Committee

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No.4, August 20, 1975)

Marx and Engels founded the theory of proletarian dictatorship and fought for it all their lives. However, they did not see the realization of this dictatorship other than the Paris Commune which lasted for only 72 days. Thus, due to restriction of historical conditions, they still could not then concretely solve a series of questions such as how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat after it was established. After the death of Marx and Engels, Lenin carried on their undertaking. Living in an era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, Lenin not only led the Russian proletariat to win the victory of the October Revolution, but also waged a hard and brilliant struggle for the defense and consolidation of the Soviet regime of proletarian dictatorship. The prolonged theoretical and practical activities carried out by Lenin for founding and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat considerably enriched the Marxist theory concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat and developed it to a new stage.

I

In the late 19th century and early 20th century, free capitalism developed into monopoly capitalism and the world entered upon an imperialist era. Imperialism, on the one hand, caused the various contradictions inherent in capitalism to be intensified as never before and the task of seizing political power by the proletariat through violence and setting up a dictatorship of the proletariat to be placed on the daily agenda as a direct practical question. At the same time, the advent of the imperialist era also enabled the monopoly bourgeoisie in various countries to use a small part of their huge profits squeezed from the laboring people in their colonies and in their own countries to buy off the wavering elements among the workers and to bring up a worker aristocracy, so that through them bourgeois influence might be spread in the workers movement. This provided fertile soil for breeding revisionism.

---

* For the first part of this article, see SPRCM No. 838.

It was under such historical conditions that, after Engels' death in 1895, Bernstein, leader of the German Social-Democratic Party and of the Second International, dashed out and after 1896, published a series of articles, saying nonsensically that the Marxist doctrine was outdated and declaring that he would have it "revised." He claimed: Capitalism now was radically different from what it was 50 years ago, the appearance of monopoly organizations such as cartels and trusts "provides the possibility for the basic elimination of economic crises." The development of the bourgeois parliamentary democratic system was now turning the state into a "defender of common interests," and following "extended state supervision over economic life, the inauguration of democratic self-governing bodies in towns, counties and provinces and the expansion of the functions of these bodies," socialism was being "realized bit by bit" within capitalism. Under these circumstances, violent revolution became unnecessary and a "meaningless sacrifice" and "this term -- the dictatorship of the proletariat -- has fallen far behind the time." As to the capitalist social system, we "should not destroy it, but rather should develop it further." In short, in Bernstein's view, there was basically no need for any violent revolution, no need to smash the bourgeois state machine, and no need to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat. If only we could, through parliament, compel the government to introduce a series of reforms, then capitalism would "grow peacefully into socialism."

As social root-causes and class foundations for the engendering of revisionism existed in various major capitalist countries in the imperialist period, once this set of Bernstein's fallacies was cast forth, it met with immediate response from the various parties of the Second International, and revisionism very quickly became an international phenomenon. Closely on the heels of Bernstein, Millerand, leader of the French Independent Socialist League, joined the reactionary bourgeois cabinet as a minister in 1899 and helped the bourgeoisie suppress the workers movement, making "the greatest attempt to apply revisionist political strategy on a truly national scale."* Meanwhile, the opportunists in the parties of other countries also quickly rallied around Bernstein's program, "becoming brothers of a single family, praising and learning from one another and together assailing the 'dogmatic' Marxism."**

Frantic attacks by revisionism sharpened the divergences in the international workers movement. At meetings of the parties of various countries and of the Second International as well as in newspapers, the struggle between Marxists and revisionists became more and more vehement with each passing day. However, since the so-called orthodox Marxists who led the Second International at that time adopted a reconciliatory attitude toward revisionism, the revisionists not only were not attacked, but continued to expand their own forces and gradually occupied a dominant position in the Second International.

---

* "Marxism and Revisionism," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. II, p. 7.

** "What Is To Be Done?", Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. I, p. 224.

In this struggle, the so-called theorist of the Second International, Kautsky, played an especially pernicious role. In 1899, public pressure forced him to write the book "Bernstein and the Program of the Social Democratic Party," in which he made certain criticisms against Bernstein. Yet he deliberately evaded the vital issue of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He said: "Regarding the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we may assuredly leave it to be solved in the future." As Lenin pointed out: "This is not the way to rebuke Bernstein and conduct a battle of words with him, but to concede to him and turn over the position to opportunism."* In 1900, the Second International convened its Fifth Congress in Paris and hotly debated the issue of Millerand joining the cabinet. At the meeting the revisionists openly applauded Millerand for joining the cabinet, saying that this was the first step for the proletariat to seize political power. The Marxists sharply criticized Millerand's treacherous act. In his speech, Luxemburg pointed out that the Social-Democratic Party could become a government party only "on the ruins of the bourgeois state." At this time, however, Kautsky tossed out a compromise resolution, saying that the participation of socialists in the bourgeois government "is a question of strategy and not a question of principle, and the International Congress need not decide on this." Kautsky thus evaded a struggle of principle and covered up revisionist activities.

It can be seen that Kautsky had never been a real Marxist. "On the question of the state he was consistently inclined to opportunism."** Later, with the intensification of the two-line struggle in the workers movement, Kautsky's real features were increasingly exposed. More and more he praised bourgeois democracy publicly and trumpeted the parliamentary road. When he conducted a polemic with the Dutch leftist Panneckoek in 1912, Kautsky already openly sang the same tune as Bernstein. He said: "The aim of our political struggle is the same as before. We are still bent on gaining the parliamentary majority to seize state power and putting the parliament above the government without destroying state power." Thus, Kautsky openly turned his back on the Marxist doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat and slipped into the quagmire of revisionism. And it was precisely due to the cover-up, connivance and support of Kautsky and his like that the activities of revisionists became more and more rampant. As a result, the opportunist viruses penetrated more and more deeply into the body of the Second International, with the majority of the parties of the Second International gradually degenerating. In face of the impending revolutionary situation, they eventually led the international workers astray.

In these circumstances the great Lenin determinedly took up the heavy responsibility of defending and developing Marxism. Ever since he began revolutionary activities, Lenin had, resolutely taking the Marxist

---

* "The State and Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 263.

** Ibid., p. 262.

revolutionary stand, used the ideas of proletarian dictatorship to educate the worker masses. Even when he was preparing to set up the party, he waged an uncompromising struggle against Bernstein and his followers in Russia, the economists. In a series of writings, he sharply criticized their pernicious views opposing the proletarian revolution and dictatorship, stressing: "The fundamental economic interests of the proletariat can be only satisfied through a political revolution that substitutes the proletarian dictatorship for the bourgeois dictatorship."* While drafting the Party program at the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party in 1903, Lenin firmly refuted the various fallacies put forward by Plekhanov, the economists and Bundists against the dictatorship of the proletariat, and finally convinced the Congress to include a clause on the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Party program. This was the first revolutionary program that strove for the dictatorship of the proletariat as its goal since the death of Marx and Engels. Lenin later pointed out that the question of proletarian dictatorship was raised at that time "precisely because of opposition to Bernstein and opportunism."** Therefore, this struggle represented a major victory for Lenin in his fight against the revisionism of the Second International.

The Second International revisionists were opposed to the use of violence to smash the old state machine and trumpeted the parliamentary road. Lenin waged a resolute struggle against this. After the outbreak of the first bourgeois democratic revolution in Russia in 1905, Bernstein hysterically cried aloud that the violent revolution should be "abandoned as meaningless sacrifice." Plekhanov warned the Bolsheviks against playing the "game" of armed uprisings. The Mensheviks spread the illusion of reforming the Tsarist system by peaceful means through constitutional conferences. Lenin firmly criticized all these opportunist views and pointed out explicitly that revolution "means the use of violence to smash the old political superstructure."+ He insisted that the proletariat must overthrow the Tsarist system through armed uprisings, set up a provisional revolutionary government, and exercise a worker-peasant democratic dictatorship. "We have no parliament as yet, ... but we can get as much parliamentary cretinism as we wish."++ At that time Lenin relentlessly mocked the Menshevik opportunists. During the period of Stolypin reaction after the failure of the revolution, the Menshevik liquidators again proposed to take the task of seizing political power as "ultimately a struggle for safeguarding the people's representative system." Lenin strongly condemned these attempts which in essence sought to abolish revolution.

---

* "What Is To Be Done?", Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. I, p. 262.

** "History on the Question of Dictatorship," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. XXXI, p. 305.

\+ "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. I, p. 616.

++ Ibid., p. 555.

1914 saw the outbreak of the First World War. One after another the leaders of various parties of the Second International threw themselves into the arms of the bourgeoisie under the slogan of "defending the mother country," fanatically supported their own governments in waging an imperialist war, and completely degenerated into social chauvinists. The Second International declared total bankruptcy. Contrary to the treacherous acts of the Second International, immediately after the war began Lenin put forward a revolutionary slogan, "bring about the defeat of 'one's own' government in the imperialist war" and "turn the imperialist war into a civil war." He linked opposition to the war with the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and laid down the only correct line for the proletariat. During the war, Kautsky trumpeted the reactionary fallacy of "ultra-imperialism," covered up the various contradictions of imperialism, and "consoled the masses in a most reactionary way with the hope of a permanent peace that could possibly be attained under the capitalist system,"* thereby obstructing the proletariat from seizing political power. Lenin wrote such important works as "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" and "On the United States of Europe Slogan," in which he analyzed the basic contradictions of imperialism. On the basis of the law of uneven economic and political development under capitalism in the imperialist era, he set forth the theory that socialist revolution could triumph first in one or several countries. This was a major development of Marxism; it armed the proletariat with the idea that the dictatorship of the proletariat might first be set up in the weak sectors of imperialism.

The imperialist war that continued for years on end caused untold sufferings to the vast laboring masses and created an unprecedentedly grave political crisis, bringing about a rapid upsurge of revolutionary movements of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in various imperialist countries. The bourgeois democratic revolution first broke out in Russia in February, 1917. It toppled the Tsarist system and created the situation in which two regimes, the bourgeois provisional government and the Soviet of Workers' representatives, existed side by side. However, the social-revolutionaries and Menshevik opportunists who wormed their way into the Soviet were opposed to developing the revolution further. They called for cooperation with the bourgeoisie and turned their power over to the bourgeois provisional government. As a result, the task of armed seizure of political power by the proletariat and of setting up a dictatorship of the proletariat was put on the agenda of the day. Under this excellent situation at home and abroad, "the attitude of the proletarian socialist revolution toward the state is not only of significance in political practice but also of the most urgent significance."** It became a matter of top priority to criticize the revisionist bias on the question of state and to educate the proletariat with the idea of armed seizure of political power and founding a dictatorship

---

* "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. II, p. 836.

** "The State and Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 172.

of the proletariat. Lenin's book "The State and Revolution" was completed under these circumstances.

"The State and Revolution" comprehensively expounds the Marxist doctrine on the state, systematically sums up the process of formation and development of the theory of proletarian dictatorship, thoroughly liquidates the various fallacies of the revisionism of the Second International against the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in many places develops the theory of proletarian dictatorship in an important way.

Frantically opposing the Marxist idea of smashing the old state machine through violent revolution and founding a proletarian dictatorship, Bernstein, Kautsky and their ilk embellished the bourgeois democratic system in all possible ways, and vigorously called for peaceful growth into socialism through the parliamentary road. To defend themselves they distorted and tampered with the Marxist doctrine in various ways. In "The State and revolution," Lenin quoted at length from the works of Marx and Engels, proving that the concept of violent revolution was "the root of all the teachings of Marx and Engels,"* and that the theory of smashing the old state machine "is the principal and basic thing in the Marxist teaching on the state."** As Lenin pointed out, the state is the apparatus with which one class oppresses another, there being no exception in slave, feudal or bourgeois states. The bourgeois parliament is nothing but a screen concealing the bourgeois dictatorship, and the real essence of the bourgeois parliamentary system is "the practice of deciding once every few years on what kind of people within the ruling class are to repress and oppress the people through parliament."+ As the state is an instrument of the exploiting class to maintain its reactionary rule and such organs of violence as the army and the police are the principal component parts of the state machine, so "the supersession of the bourgeois by the proletarian state is impossible without a violent revolution."++ Particularly in the imperialist period, both the monarchical and the most liberal republican state, without exception, strengthen the state machine for the suppression of the people. The proletariat must all the more concentrate all forces on smashing the old state machine before it can establish its dictatorship.

In the book "The State and Revolution," Lenin, hitting the nail on the head, pointed out that the essence of revisionism lies in its "using the doctrine of class struggle to restrict Marxism .... reducing Marxism to

---

* "The State and Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, p. 188.

** Ibid., p. 194.

\+ Ibid., p. 209.

++ Ibid., p. 188.

something acceptable to the bourgeoisie."* Although the revisionists also talked about class struggle, what they meant by this was only parliamentary struggle. "Opportunism does not extend the recognition of class struggle to what is the cardinal point, to the period of transition from capitalism to communism, to the period of the overthrow and the complete abolition of the bourgeoisie."** Therefore, Lenin stressed: "Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat."+ This brilliant idea of Lenin's put the emphasis on the dictatorship of the proletariat, the "substance" of Marxism, pointing out that whether or not to recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat is the "touchstone" for true and false Marxism; it is an idea of tremendous theoretical and practical significance.

On the basis of the principle governing the two phases of communist development as expounded by Marx in his "Critique of the Gotha Program," "The State and Revolution" penetratingly inquired into the question of the economic basis for the withering of the state. And based on this inquiry, Lenin arrived at the conclusion: the dictatorship of the proletariat "is necessary not only for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire historical period which separates capitalism from 'classless society,' from communism."++ Lenin held that it was necessary to exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the period of transition not only because of the necessity to break the resistance of the exploiters and to lead the broad masses of people, i.e., the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the semi-proletariat, to "adjust" the socialist economy, but also because in the first phase of communism it was still impossible to entirely get rid of the capitalist traditions and traces, the three major differences still existed, and there were bourgeois rights and the narrow concepts arising from bourgeois rights, preventing people from consciously observing the minimum norm of public life or voluntarily giving their very best to work. Therefore, at the historical stage of socialism, the proletariat still "needs the state to protect public ownership of the means of production, the equality of labor and the equality of distribution of products."+++ These ideas expounded in the book "The State and Revolution" not only laid the most effective theoretical groundwork for the October Revolution, but down to this day they are still a mighty ideological weapon for us to combat revisionism.

---

* "The State and Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 199.

** Ibid., p. 200.

\+ Ibid., p. 199.

++ Ibid., p. 200.

+++ Ibid., p. 252.

II

In October 1917, the Russian people, under Lenin's leadership, won a great victory in the socialist revolution and founded the first state of proletarian dictatorship in the world, thus ushering in a new era in human history.

The October Revolution overthrew the bourgeois provisional government and transferred political power to the hands of the Soviet of Worker-Peasant-Soldier representatives. The Soviet regime swiftly destroyed the bourgeois state machine, nationalizing all land, banks, railways, big enterprises and foreign trade and instituting domination over the bourgeoisie in the political, economic and other spheres. Moreover, it signed a peace treaty with Germany in March 1918, and terminated the state of war, thereby winning a breathing spell in which to rehabilitate the war-torn national economy and consolidate the newly born political power.

However, class enemies at home and abroad, irreconciled to their defeat, made every effort to have the Soviet regime "strangled in the cradle." Beginning from the summer of 1918, fourteen imperialist countries, including Britain, France, the United States and Japan, initiated a joint armed intervention against Soviet Russia, while the overthrown exploiting classes at home also stirred up counter-revolutionary disturbances everywhere. At that time, the revisionists of the Second International also took an active part in the big chorus against the Soviet regime. In August 1918, Kautsky tossed out a pamphlet entitled "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat," in which he maliciously attacked the socialist system of proletarian dictatorship in Russia for "destroying democracy" and "denying freedom" and cursed the Soviet regime as a "child without vitality," saying that it would perish soon.

Such frantic attacks from the class enemies did not cow the Russian working class. Under Lenin's firm leadership, the Bolsheviks, relying on the strong might of the dictatorship of the proletariat and awakening the laboring masses, waged three years of arduous struggle and finally repelled the armed intervention of imperialism in a heroic spirit never witnessed before, smashed the rebellions of the White Bandits, and held their ground under extremely difficult conditions. Beginning from 1921, Russia entered a period of rehabilitation of the national economy. To heal the wounds caused by the war and to surmount the grave economic difficulties, Lenin drew up a new economic policy, decided to effect the transition from the system of requisitioning surplus grain during the civil war to a grain tax, and permitted trade among private individuals. The execution of the new economic policy consolidated the alliance of workers and peasants and promoted the rehabilitation and development of the national economy, but it also induced certain activities among urban and rural capitalist forces. Because of this, Lenin again adopted a series of measures to beat back the capitalist attacks and strengthen the socialist position, thereby further consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the more than six years from the victory of the October Revolution and his death in 1924, Lenin, in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and accelerate socialist construction, waged tenacious struggles against the international bourgeoisie and domestic reactionary forces, against

the revisionists of the Second International and opportunists within the Party, and against capitalist spontaneous tendencies and the tremendous influence of the force of old habits. In this period, Lenin wrote a series of important works including "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," "A Great Beginning," "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" and "'Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder." He also added the important third section of the second chapter in "The State and Revolution." These works profoundly summed up the new experiences of the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat, thus developing the doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat to a new stage.

With a view to solving the new problem of how to consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is necessary to study the new features of class struggle in socialist society. It was on the basis of a profound analysis of the law of class struggle in Soviet society after the October Revolution that Lenin put forward his measures for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration.

Lenin held that the primary task of the dictatorship of the proletariat was to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie and suppress the exploiters.

Insofar as the October Revolution overthrew the political order of the landlord and bourgeois classes, confiscated their means of production, and abolished their longstanding privileges, it was deeply hated and desperately resisted by them. The overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes stirred up counter-revolutionary disturbances everywhere. Rich peasants created a famine by hoarding grain; old government officials and bourgeois technical experts working in various departments of the Soviet government went slow, created accidents and carried out sabotage from within. Class struggle at home was extraordinarily ruthless. However, it was under these circumstances that the renegade Kautsky came forward and demanded that the Soviet government exercise "democracy," "protect the minority," and allow a handful of exploiters to "enjoy all political rights on the basis of equality." Lenin strongly condemned these speeches of Kautsky as a renegade. He pointed out that Kautsky basically was unwilling to see this fact: although the exploiters made up a very small percentage of the population in the new society, they still had great superiority in many respects, their role immeasurably greater than their number would show. They still had money and extensive social ties; they had the skills for political, military and economic management, and they still had support from the international bourgeoisie. Therefore, the overthrown exploiters would never take their defeat lying down; to recover their lost "paradise," they "will, as usual, put up prolonged, stubborn and desperate resistance."* They would "never, like

---

* "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 640.

the sweet idiot Kautsky who indulges in sweet fantasy, submit to the decisions of the exploited majority."* Therefore, the proletariat absolutely cannot talk "equality" with the exploiters but must wage the most heroic and merciless struggle to break the resistance of the exploiters, or the Soviet government would perish.

Dealing with breaking the resistance of exploiters, Lenin particularly mentioned the need to use an "iron hand" to attack all kinds of bad elements hostile to socialism. During a major turning point in society, bad elements including swindlers and hooligans would, as a rule, make their "appearance." They would stir up trouble, burn and loot, and seriously disturb social peace. Lenin viewed these bad elements and men of wealth as brothers, major parasites fed by capitalism. They were all descendants of the aristocracy and the bourgeois society; they were enemies of socialism. "These enemies should be supervised by the whole people The moment they go against the regulations and laws of socialist society they should be punished without mercy. To be weak, waver and pity them is a serious crime against socialism."**

Lenin held that an even more important task of the dictatorship of the proletariat "is to create the conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new one to arise."+ This is a much more complicated and formidable task. It is relatively easy to expel the landlords and capitalists and break their resistance. But to do this alone does not mean that the dictatorship of the proletariat is consolidated. After an incisive analysis of the characteristics of the economic structure and class struggle in Soviet society, Lenin pointed out that since in socialist society there were still soil and conditions for breeding capitalism, "on the ground cleared of an old generation /of exploiters/, a new generation will appear."++ If the proletariat does not strive to uproot this soil engendering capitalism nor wages a resolute struggle against the newly born bourgeois elements, the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated and capitalist restoration is possible.

Lenin pointed out that in order to create the conditions which make it impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new one to arise, the proletariat must first carry out socialist transformation of small production.

---

* "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 640.

** "How To Organise Competition?", Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 397.

\+ "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 498.

++ "Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. XXVII, p. 275.

After the October Revolution, although the Soviet government effected land nationalization and put all large and medium-sized enterprises under state control, small production still existed like a vast ocean. Small production was an economy at the cross-road. Under conditions of commodity exchange, it would constantly disintegrate. On the one hand, the majority of small producers would be impoverished and go bankrupt; on the other hand, a few of them would turn into new bourgeois elements. Small producers are not only laborers but private property holders as well. As laborers, they were hostile to the exploiting class and were willing to ally with the proletariat to oppose the bourgeoisie; as private property owners, they would inevitably become merchants or profiteers under the environment of commodity economy. Therefore, small production "is an extremely broad and profound capitalist basis. On this basis capitalism can be retained and resurrect."* In the first few years of the existence of the Soviet government, many small producers made use of temporary economic difficulties facing the country to frantically engage in profiteering activities, which gravely undermined the state's economic management and shook the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In view of this, Lenin pointed out explicitly: "Small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale."** Lenin then advocated that the proletariat must strengthen its accounting and supervision over economic life and resolutely fight against the spontaneous capitalist tendencies of small producers.

Lenin's views were opposed by a handful of opportunists within the Party represented by Bukharin. Blind to the fact that small producers existed in the country like a vast ocean, they denied that new bourgeois elements were being engendered from among small producers. At the Eighth Party Congress held in March 1919, Bukharin demanded that the clauses on small commodity production be deleted from the draft Party program and spread such platitude as that "the rich should be overthrown, but supervision is not necessary." Lenin firmly exposed the reactionary essence of their views.

At the same time, Lenin also pointed out that small producers, being laborers, should not be treated like exploiters. They should neither be suppressed nor expelled but should be educated patiently over a long time and organized to join the cooperatives and undergo socialist transformation. It is noteworthy that Lenin right at that time pointed out that even those small producers who joined the cooperatives must continue to be given positive guidance, or else, under the conditions of commodity economy, "small commodity producers cooperatives (referring to the superior and typical small commodity producers cooperatives in a

---

* "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 86.

** "'Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 181.

small-peasant state, and not workers cooperatives) will surely produce petty-bourgeois and capitalist relations and give an impetus to the development of such relations."*

Lenin pointed out that in order to create the conditions which made it impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new one to arise, it was also necessary to have bourgeois rights restricted in the spheres of exchange and distribution.

As the socialist economy had not fully matured, the Soviet government continued to practice the commodity system after the victory of the October Revolution. Money still retained its functions and the law of value its role. It was necessary to do this in the historical period of socialism as it helped promote the development of the socialist economy. However, it also provided bourgeois elements in the populace with the opportunity to continue to make use of commodities and money to carry out speculation, get rich and plunder the laborers. At that time, speculative activities were extremely rampant, gravely undermining the socialist economy. In 1918, for instance, food supplied by speculators and peddlers accounted for over half of the food consumption in the city, and this food was priced ten times higher than that fixed by the state. Lenin gave serious attention to problems in this respect and tried to enforce strict state supervision over the production and distribution of products, so that planned and organized production and distribution on a nationwide scale might more speedily replace free trade and lead to the restriction of bourgeois rights in the field of exchange. Lenin repeatedly reminded the Party and the working class: "In Russia, as in any other capitalist society, capitalist commodity economy is still alive, operating, developing and giving birth to bourgeoisie."** If there were no strict accounting and supervision by the whole people over production and distribution of products, if free trade were allowed to assume disastrous proportions, "the restoration of the capitalist system of oppression will become unavoidable."***

In addition, in the book "The State and Revolution," Lenin, in accordance with Marx's thoughts, pointed out that it was still necessary to carry out the system of distribution according to work in the first stage of communist society because of the immaturity of economic development. Since the "equal" rights embodied in the distribution according to work were still bourgeois rights, they would inevitably create differences in wealth among people and would easily cause a section of laborers to be too concerned about their personal gain or loss, unwilling to work half an hour more or receive a penny less than others. After the October Revolution, Lenin

---

* "On the Grain Tax," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 522.

** "Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (B)," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. XXIX, p. 162.

*** "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, pp. 506-507.

related the defects of distribution according to work to the question of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and stressed the need to impose every possible restriction on the bourgeois rights in the sphere of distribution. At that time, following Lenin's directives, the Soviet government, acting on the principle of the Paris Commune, ruled that state functionaries should draw a salary equal to the wage of an average worker, and repeatedly tried to narrow the wage differentials. Meanwhile, in order to use bourgeois experts to rehabilitate the badly torn national economy, the People's Commissariat resolved to give these people high salaries. Nevertheless, Lenin pointed out that doing this was against the principle of the Paris Commune, and that it was only a compromise, a temporary measure. Moreover, he believed that the corrosiveness of high salaries certainly would "affect the Soviet government" and "affect the worker masses."* Yet opportunists such as Bukharin said nonsensically that they "cannot see anything which runs counter to principle." Exposing their features, Lenin said they were deceiving the masses and degenerating to the level of bourgeois politicians.

Lenin pointed out that in order to create the conditions making it impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new one to arise, it was also necessary to wage an uncompromising struggle against the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie and the traditional habitual force of the old society.

As Marx pointed out long ago, socialist society, as it had just emerged from capitalist society, was inevitably stamped with the birthmarks of the old society both intellectually and morally. Lenin developed this idea. He graphically pointed out: "The working class is not separated by a Chinese Wall from the old bourgeois society. And when a revolution takes place, it does not happen as in the case of the death of an individual, when the deceased person is simply carried away. When the old society perishes, you cannot nail its corpse into a coffin and lower it into the grave. It disintegrates in our midst; the corpse rots and poisons us."** After the revolution, the proletariat deprived the bourgeoisie of their political power and confiscated their means of

---

* "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, pp. 503-504.

** "Report on the Struggle against Famine, Joint Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies, and the Trade Unions," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. XXVII, p. 407.

production. However, you couldn't deprive them of their ideas nor confiscate them. On the contrary, following the daily growing consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie more and more stepped up their ideological struggle against the dictatorship of the proletariat. They corrupted the masses and poisoned people's minds with decadent ideas so as to lay the groundwork for capitalist restoration. Meanwhile, "the small owners, by their ordinary, everyday, imperceptible, elusive, demoralizing activity, achieve the very results which the bourgeoisie need and which tend to restore the bourgeoisie."* It was precisely due to these reasons that in the Soviet society after the October Revolution, not only was a group of new bourgeois elements engendered from among small commodity producers, but even among the Soviet functionaries and a section of workers and Party members degeneration also occurred, with a number of new bourgeois elements emerging from among them.

In view of this, Lenin repeatedly stressed the need to wage a persistent struggle against the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie, against traditional habitual forces in order to vanquish this "most profound and most violent ideological resistance"** of the bourgeoisie. As he pointed out, "under the proletarian dictatorship, it is necessary to re-educate the millions of peasants and small owners and hundreds of thousands of office employees, officials and bourgeois intellectuals so that all of them will submit to the leadership of the proletarian state and the proletariat leadership and vanquish the bourgeois habits and traditions among them."*** At the same time, Lenin again and again warned the workers that they must pay attention to cleaning their bodies of the dust and dirty water left over from the old society and to resisting the evil influence of bourgeois ideas and the spontaneous forces of the petty bourgeoisie which were surrounding the proletariat from all sides. Only thus could the proletariat effectively and successfully play its own leading role.

In this struggle, Lenin attached immense importance to educating the masses to establish a communist attitude toward labor. In May 1919, to support the civil war, Communists and activists of the Moscow-Kazan Railway Sub-Bureau initiated communist voluntary labor when they worked on Saturdays without pay. Lenin highly praised their action, taking it

---

* "'Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 201.

** "Speech Delivered at the Political Educational Committee Work Conference of All-Russia Provincial and County Bureau of National Education," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 369.

*** "'Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 267.

as "a brand-new thing which rebels against all old capitalists habits"* and "the beginning of a reform which is more difficult, more important, more profound and of more decisive significance than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie."** In short, Lenin all along regarded helping the masses overcome the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie and establish the communist world outlook as an essential condition for ultimately defeating the bourgeoisie.

Lenin also believed that, apart from breaking the resistance of the exploiters at home and creating the conditions making it impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new to arise, the dictatorship of the proletariat must also take up its international duty, namely, to fight against the aggression and subverison by imperialism, to aid the people's revolutions in the world, and to gain a complete guarantee for the prevention of capitalist restoration.

When the dictatorship of the proletariat is established in a country, it inevitably will invite extreme hatred from international imperialism. As soon as the Soviet government came into being, it was besieged and attacked by 14 imperialist countries. This clearly shows that imperialism "would not miss any opportunity to carry out what it calls armed intervention, that is, to strangle the Soviet government to death."+ Therefore, as long as imperialism exists, there is the danger of the dictatorship of the proletariat being subverted by its external enemies. So, the proletariat must continue to strengthen its national defense and be prepared at all times to crush the external enemies' aggression and subversion.

But capital is an international force, and to defeat and destroy it completely, there must be common action from the international working class. "Speaking of completely guaranteeing the prevention of restoration of capitalist relations, ultimate victory for socialism is possible only on the international scale."++ Here, Lenin advanced the idea that the ultimate victory of socialism in one country awaited the victory of the world revolution. This is to say that a country of proletarian dictatorship that has won the revolution should regard assisting the revolutionary struggle of the world's people as its own bounden internationalist duty. For only this can promote the victory of the world revolution and enable a country which has established the dictatorship of the proletariat to obtain a full guarantee for the prevention of capitalist restoration.

---

* "Subbotniks," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 143.

** "A Great Beginning," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 1.

\+ "The Eighth Congress of All-Russia Soviet," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. XXXI, p. 423.

++ Quoted from Stalin's "Reply to Comrade Evanov," Pravda, February 14, 1938.

The extremely complicated and acute struggle in Soviet society after the victory of the October Revolution clearly shows that consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration is an unprecedentedly great and unprecedentedly difficult undertaking. Then, how can victory of this undertaking be assured?

Lenin pointed out that to guarantee victory for the cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there must first be a party armed with Marxist theories and composed of advanced elements of the proletariat. Lenin said: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle -- bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative -- against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most terrible force. Without an iron party tempered in the struggle, without a party enjoying the confidence of all that is honest in the given class, without a party capable of watching and influencing the mood of the masses, it is impossible to conduct such a struggle successfully."* This is because only such a party can unite, teach and organize the proletariat and working people, can resist the various bourgeois traditions and habits, can lead all united actions of the proletariat, and direct the whole body of working people through the proletariat.

Therefore, the party is the core leading the dictatorship of the proletariat. All work of the state, all state organs and mass organizations must be placed under the party's leadership. "Not a single important political or organizational question is to be decided by any state institution in our republic without the guiding instructions of the Central Committee of the Party."** Therefore, it is necessary to constantly strengthen the leading role of the party in the dictatorship of the proletariat, and any action to weaken its leadership will in fact help the bourgeoisie weaken and undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin took the view that in order to strengthen the leading role of the party in the dictatorship of the proletariat under extremely acute and complex conditions of class struggle, it is first necessary to enforce a most strict system of centralism and discipline within the party, preserve its unity in thinking and action, and oppose all sectarian activities. Lenin strongly condemned the sectarian activities carried out within the Party by opportunists represented by Trotsky and Bukharin, and exposed their disruptive essence. Lenin pointed out: "Maintaining the unity of the party and realizing the unity of will of the proletarian vanguard is a

---

* "'Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 200.

** Ibid., p. 203.

basic condition for insuring the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat."* It is necessary to wage an uncompromising struggle against actions aimed at sabotaging Party unity.

As Lenin pointed out, in order to insure victory for the cause of its dictatorship, the proletariat must also rally the broad masses of peasants and working people closely around itself in order to wage a common fight against bourgeois restorationist activities and for a new social system. He believed that the dictatorship of the proletariat was in essence "the vanguard of workers -- a special form of class alliance between the proletariat and the vast strata of non-proletarian workers (the petty bourgeoisie, small owners, peasants, intellectuals, etc.) or the great majority of them."** He also time and again pointed out that the worker-peasant alliance was "the main force and pillar of the Soviet government"*** and that "the highest principle of dictatorship is to defend the alliance between the proletariat and peasants."+ Without a solid worker-peasant alliance or close unity of all working people, it is basically impossible to carry out this great and formidable task without precedent in history. Therefore, a proletarian state must fully arouse the enthusiasm and creativity of the masses and most extensively and effectively invite the whole people to participate in the administration of the state, to fight consciously for a more consolidated and stronger dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin pointed out: "Labor productivity, in the final analysis, is the most important and principal thing insuring the triumph of the new social system."++ A reliable guarantee for a more consolidated and stronger dictatorship of the proletariat can be found only when the national economy is developed, labor productivity is higher than that under capitalism and a solid material basis is laid for socialism.

Lenin held that to raise labor productivity, it was first of all necessary to guarantee a material basis for big industry: developing the iron and steel, fuel, machine-building, and chemical industries, etc. He said that another condition for raising labor productivity was to develop popular culture and education and "promote the discipline, working skills, efficiency, labor intensity of the workers and improve labor organization,

---

* "Draft Resolution of the RCP Tenth Congress Concerning Party Unity," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 479.

** "Preface to the Published 'Deception of the People with the Slogan of Freedom and Equality'," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. XXIX, pp. 343-344.

*** "Recorded Speeches," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. XXIX, p. 217.

\+ "Third Congress of Communist International," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. XXXII, p. 477.

++ "A Great Beginning," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 16.

which is also a condition for developing the economy."* He pointed out that not for a single moment should we forget that the spontaneous forces of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie were now using all corrupt elements and weaknesses to buy off people and to encourage the growth of indiscipline, indolence and chaos. The proletariat must therefore display the power of dictatorship and wage a resolute struggle against these sabotage acts. Moreover, this struggle must never depend on propaganda and agitation alone; "to carry out this struggle, it is also necessary to resort to coercion."**

These brilliant ideas of Lenin's profoundly sum up the historical experience of the first country of proletarian dictatorship in the world; they are precious legacy bequeathed on the proletariat and revolutionary people of all countries. Particularly, they have an inestimable significance for the Chinese people who are dedicated to continuing the revolutionary cause under the dictatorship of the proletariat. For this reason, in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions and in light of China's concrete conditions, we must seriously study Lenin's theory concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat and fight for a more consolidated and stronger dictatorship of the proletariat in our country.

* * *

---

* "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 510.

** Ibid., p. 518.

Study and Criticism, No. 9, September 9, 1975

Table of Contents

Use WATER MARGIN as Teaching Material by Negative Material To Enable People To Recognize Capitulationists

Lu Hsün on Water Margin — SPRCM 840

Comment on Water Margin's Capitulationism - by Chai Ch'ing — SPRCM 843

Comment on "Oppose Only Corrupt Officials, But Not the Emperor" - by Wei Yung-cheng — SPRCM 843

On the Three Juan Brothers - by Ch'en Ta-k'ang — SPRCM 842

On Ch'ao Kai - by Tu Hsün-ch'eng — SPRCM 842

Changing the Title of Water Margin and What It Reveals - by Hsü Chen — SPRCM 843

Sung Chiang's "Seditious Poem" - by Chung Fu-lan — SPRCM 842

Young Workers on Water Margin — SPRCM 843

Reference Material: A Comprehensive Review of Various Kinds of Opinions in the Studies of Water Margin — SPRCM 842

Study Theory, Combat and Prevent Revisionism

Further Strengthen Party Building - by Fang Hai — SPRCM 842

Educate Party Members To Take the Lead in Continuing the Revolution — SPRCM 842

How To Deepen Theoretical Study

Letter Box on Study: Does the Quota System Embody Bourgeois Rights?

A Random Talk on the Origin of Private Property - by K'ang Li

Miscellaneous Essays:

2 - 1 = ? - by "Eagle" Squad of the Hull Workshop, Hutung Shipyard

Never Thought of ..... - by Jen Tz'u-chieh
No. 1 Zone, Shanghai Harbor

Biographies

Biography of Lu Hsün (IV) - by Shih I-ko

Notes on Travel to Southern Kiangsi - by Wu Wen-hu and Ts'ao Jung

/SPRCM ed. note: Page 28 of this issue carried an editor's note concerning the article "A Random Talk on Reading Some History of Literature" in issue No. 8 (SPRCM 842). The author, the note said, was wrong in his interpretation of the novel Water Margin and had now corrected his mistake. This note was translated and appeared in SPRCM 843./

* * *

Study and Criticism, No. 8, August 18, 1975

Table of Contents

Study Theory, Combat and Prevent Revisionism

Heighten the Sense of Discipline - by Fang Hai SPRCM 837

Learn from the PLA

Oil Lamp on Chingkang Mountain Red and Bright - by Fu Cheng-yü, Young Worker of 5th Zone, Shanghai Harbor

Deliver Guns to Chingkang Mountain - by Wang Shao-p'u, Housing Management Bureau, Ch'angning District, Shanghai Municipality

An Unusual "Exchange" - by Li Ch'ang-ch'ing, Shanghai No. 31 Cotton Mill

Workstyle As Seen from a Sack of Grain - by Ku Chien-kuo, Young Worker of Hsienfeng Motor Plant, Shanghai

Red Lamp Passes from Generation to Generation - by Shen Yüeh

Study Chairman Mao's Military Works, Criticize Lin Piao's Bourgeois Military Line

The Struggle between Two Military Lines in the War To Liberate the Central-South - by T'ang Ssu-wen SPRCM 842

The Red Army's Third Anti-"Encirclement and Suppression" Campaign - by Shih Feng SPRCM 839

Study History of Literature

Read a Newly Discovered Article by Lu Hsün - by Yü Ch'iu-yü SPRCM 846

T'ang Society and Development of Literature -- History of Development of Chinese Literature, Vol. II, Chapter 1 - by Liu Ta-chieh

A Critique of Pro-Confucian, Anti-Legalist Ideas in the History of Literature -- a tentative discussion of the classical language movement in the T'ang Dynasty - by Kuo Ch'eng-lan, Young Worker of Shanghai Toothpaste Plant

A Random Talk on Reading Some History of Literature -
by Hsü Ch'i-hsi

SPRCM 842

Study Economic Problems

Mutual Relations in Socialist Production (concluded)
-- Selections from Socialist Political Economy

Social Investigations

An Interview with Shanghai Women's Basketball Team -
by Shen I-chen, Li Hai-sheng and Lu Hsiao-ho

Biographies

Biography of Lu Hsün (III) - by Shih I-ko

Notes on Travel to Southern Kiangsi - by Wu Wen-hu and Ts'ao Jung

* * *

END

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
National Technical Information Service
Springfield, Va. 22161

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

PRINTED MATTER

AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COM-211

U.S.MAIL

CMP
UNIV ILLINOIS LIB AT CHICAGO CIRCLE X751231 001
LIB SERIALS SEC
BOX 8198
CHICAGO IL 60680